

The American Background of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions
and their Influences in Education in East Africa,
especially in Kenya.

Kenneth James King

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SUMMARY

This study discusses the relevance of the American South to an understanding of educational and political development in Eastern Africa and particularly in Kenya during the period 1911-1939. While attention is paid both to the Pan-African aspects of early East African politics and to the American Negro as a missionary in Africa, the principal consideration is the role of an American philanthropic foundation, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in determining a new direction for British colonial educational policy in Africa. The Fund was further influential in suggesting the adoption of its own view of race relations as valuable to European missionary societies operating in Africa.

Chapters one and two examine the African orientations of leading American Negroes, their educational and political institutions, while reviewing initial Phelps-Stokes Fund involvement in American Negro education. The Fund's work in the American South began to appear relevant to British missionary statesmen concerned with African development in the period after the Great War, and it was agreed that Commissions should be sent by the Fund to make recommendations on African education.

In Chapter three, the Pan-African factor in the earliest African political associations of Uganda and Kenya is analysed, as is the attempt of American Negroes to work in East Africa, and of East African students to reach American Negro colleges.

Chapters four and five document the political significance of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in Kenya, and outline

sources of radical resistance to its proposals for African development. Chapter six reviews for the inter-war years educational innovations in East Africa that were the result of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. And for the same period, chapter seven considers the success of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in communicating to missionaries from Africa its views of American race relations. Chapter eight finally is concerned with the Fund's influence upon African leadership, through its support of African students at American Negro colleges.

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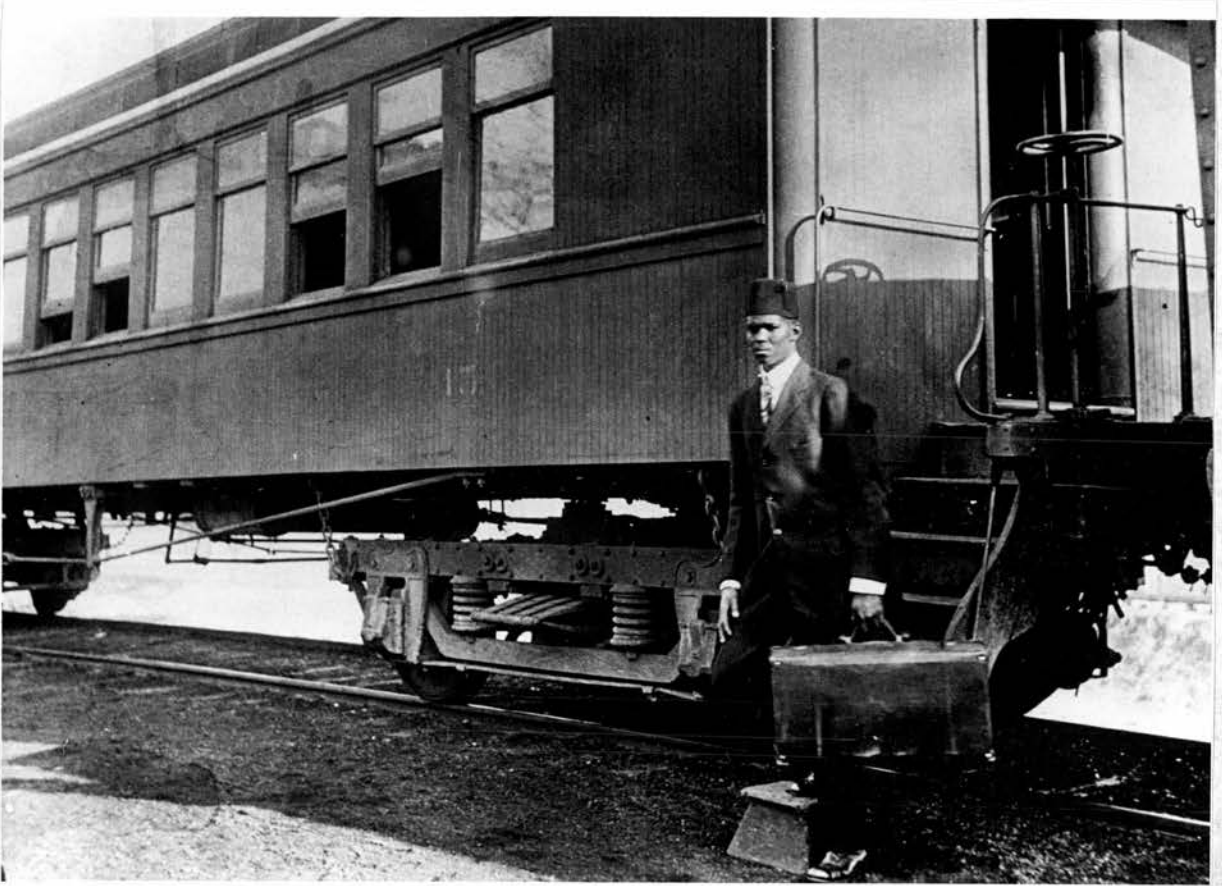
INTRODUCTION

In the summer and autumn of 1909, a party to shoot big game was moving slowly through the East African Protectorate - its leaders, ex-president Theodore Roosevelt and his son Kermit. Although there was not yet any Education Department in the territory, the American visitors interested themselves in the mission stations and in their industrial training of the Africans.¹ Less formally, they gave a stimulus to learning among their own gun-bearers, and especially to one of Kermit's men, Juma Yohari, a Swahili from the coast. Possibly this man's first education came from the Roosevelts, with their illustrated tobacco and chocolate cards, which he puzzled over 'until he could identify the brilliantly colored ladies, gentlemen, little girls and wild beasts'.² In any case, his good humour and loyal service found considerable favour, and he had gained therefore a pledge from Roosevelt before the party left: it was a letter promising an education in a school called Tuskegee Institute, should Juma's son ever manage to cross the Atlantic.

Almost six years later, on the 24th October 1915, Mohammed Jama stepped from the train at Cheechaw, the little station in rural Alabama nearest to the school at Tuskegee,

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1. Theodore Roosevelt, African Game Trails: An Account of the African Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist (New York, 1910), pp.144-145; cf. also Inland Africa (publication of the African Inland Mission, Brooklyn, U.S.A.), ix, January 1925, p.1.
 2. Theodore Roosevelt, op.cit., pp.390-391. For a picture of Juma Yohari, see illustration facing p.318.

PLATE I



Mohammed Jama, first East African student at
Tuskegee Institute alights from the train at
Cheechaw, near Tuskegee, Alabama, 24.10.15.
(Tuskegee Institute Archives)

and thus became the first East African in this school of 1,300 Negro students.³ He almost certainly never saw the school's founder and first president alive, for Booker Washington was carried back into Tuskegee to die in three weeks' time; but he may well have pondered on the force and philosophy of the man whose school could be recommended by a president of the United States as far afield as Africa.

Something of Washington's ideas began to become clear as Mohammed settled down to get the sort of education for which he had travelled and worked.⁴ He could neither read nor write beyond the minimum on his enrolment; so there was no doubt in his own mind that he must secure 'an education from the standpoint of books'.⁵ He worked consequently with great enthusiasm and determination at these, but showed little corresponding eagerness for the strong industrial courses at Tuskegee. When, therefore, the institute failed to correct his prejudice against these, Roosevelt himself was called upon to write Mohammed an exhortation upon manual training:

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3. Tuskegee Registry, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; for illustration of Mohammed Jama stepping off train for Tuskegee, see Plate I. Mohammed Jama was not the first East African student to seek education in the Southern States; the young Masai chief, Mulungit, had accompanied John Stauffacher of the African Inland Mission staff in Kenya to the States in 1909, and had attended Negro trade schools in North Carolina and at Boydton, Virginia; see Hearing and Doing (Brooklyn), xvii, April/June, 1912, No.2, pp.14-15.
 4. File on Mohammed Jama, Tuskegee Registry.
 5. 'Memo to Mr. Scott Regarding Mohamed Jama', 10 October 1916, box 312, B.T. Washington papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Now, will you read this to Mohammed Jama
What we are trying to make everybody in this country understand is that working with a man's hands, that is, industrial activity, is even more important than a literary education. Mohammed can never be a clerk in this country; he will never know enough; but he can be a very good man with his hands doing industrial work.⁶

Within a few months of this, nevertheless, Mohammed Jama had left after only one and a half years at the school, unable apparently to reconcile his notion of education with what the school or the president thought best.

This bald tale of one African's disappointed mission to the Southern States is a fragment of the educational pan-Africanism that will concern this study. The term is used advisedly for there is no more convenient way of describing the complex interrelationships between Africans, American Negroes, and their white sponsors in education. It must serve to cover the magnetic appeal for Africans of the Negro schools and colleges in the Southern States; equally it must comprehend the fervent desire of American Negroes to carry their own educational privileges to their African brethren. And it must, finally, extend to the role of those whites - whether missionaries, philanthropists or individuals like Roosevelt - who believed that the education of Africans and the education of American Negroes were a single interdependent problem.

In particular, this study will assess the achievement of one agency, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which might

6. T. Roosevelt to E.J. Scott (Secretary of Tuskegee Institute), 13 October 1916, in R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence 1916, Tuskegee Institute Archives, Tuskegee, Alabama.

legitimately claim to have had this pan-African educational concern at the heart of its work from the very beginning. It would certainly have been difficult in 1911, the date of its foundation, to point to any body of comparable influence which had written into its charter, as one of its chief ends, 'the education of negroes, both in Africa and the United States'.⁷

At one level, what follows, therefore, will be a review of with what priorities a small Fund spent well over a million dollars on African and American Negro education in a period of twenty five years. At another level, it will, through a case study of Kenya, trace the variety of ways in which the experience of the American South was filtered by Phelps-Stokes Fund activity into the thinking of individual missionaries and government officials; while it will gauge its influence more generally upon the development over a generation of an educational policy for African colonies. And although ostensibly a study of an

7. T.J. Jones, Educational Adaptations: Report of Ten Years' Work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1910-1920 (New York, circ. 1921), p.16.

Several of the small Negro liberal arts colleges of America had the same aim to elevate both Africans and American Negroes, and carried it out to the limit of their resources; see for Lincoln University (Pennsylvania), H.M. Bond, 'Forming African Youth', Africa Seen by American Negroes (Présence Africaine, Dijon, 1958), pp.248-249. Also the Statement of Aims for Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee: 'Fisk University aims to be a great centre of the best Christian Educational forces for the training of colored youth of the South, that they may be disciplined and inspired as leaders in the vitally important work that needs to be done for their race in this country and on the continent of Africa.' - Fisk University Catalogue, 1884, Fisk University Library, Nashville, Tennessee.

education suggested for Africans and American Negroes, it will in practice be something more complex, since many East Africans and American Negroes would insist on regarding education as a supremely political affair.

Ultimately it may be possible to show that Mohammed Jama's voyage was not so much an isolated incident, but part of a larger canvas displaying African initiative and determination in the search of a fuller education, against a background of often conflicting white and American Negro counsels.

CHAPTER I

AFRICA AND AMERICAN NEGRO EDUCATION: THE BEGINNINGS

The year 1881 marked two educational beginnings which should figure in any general history of African education. In January, Edward Wilmot Blyden, the West Indian scholar of African descent, delivered his inaugural address as president of Liberia College, Monrovia;¹ and in May, a 25 year-old Negro of slave descent, Booker T. Washington, was called from his teaching post at Hampton Institute, Virginia, to found a school for Negroes in Tuskegee, Alabama.² These events might seem very remote from each other, especially as the educational philosophies of the two principals were apparently at odds. Blyden had started on his term of office with a long discussion of 'The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans',³ while Washington had decided that the industrial education of Hampton should hold the key to his own school curriculum.⁴ But the distance

1. E.W. Blyden had nineteen years earlier given the inaugural address for the opening of the college. For further details of Blyden's close contacts with American Negro education in the service of Africa, see H.R. Lynch, Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot 1832-1912 (London, 1967); also, Edith Holden, Blyden of Liberia: An Account of the Life and Labors of Edward Wilmot Blyden, LL.D., As Recorded in Letters and in Print (New York, 1966).
2. B.T. Washington, Up From Slavery. An Autobiography (first published, New York, 1901; references from 'Nelson' edition, London), pp.135-136; also B. Mathews, Booker T. Washington: Educator and Inter-racial Interpreter (London, 1949), pp.61-64. Dr. Louis Harlan is presently completing a biography of Washington. For the young Washington, see Plate II.
3. E.W. Blyden, 'The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans', in Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race (first published London, 1867; references taken from reprint in 'African Heritage Series', Edinburgh, 1967), pp.71-93.
4. B.T. Washington, op.cit., pp.149-150.

between them was much less than this suggests; they were both convinced that they must reject for their own people the conventional forms of Western education. In so doing, they pioneered criteria for Negro education that would in the 1920s and 1930s become the standard formulae for educating Africans throughout the period of Indirect Rule.

The possibilities of a marriage between Hampton's industrial training and Blyden's redefined African education had become first apparent two years before, in 1879.⁵ Although Hampton had only been founded a decade earlier, its energetic white President, General S.C. Armstrong,⁶ had already felt that its methods might have particular relevance for African youth, and had suggested through the American Colonization Society to Blyden that three 'first-class African boys' could be educated at his Institute.⁷ This was at first not a particularly welcome offer for

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5. Blyden had, however, made his first contact with Hampton Institute in 1874, when he had addressed the students in the interests of Liberian emigration, Lynch, op.cit., p.105 (Dr. Lynch there mistakenly names the principal of Hampton Institute, General O.O. Hampton; he was of course General Samuel Chapman Armstrong.).
 6. The most valuable published source on Armstrong's methods in Negro education is provided in the early issues of Southern Workman, the monthly production of the Institute from 1871. The only complete run of this periodical is in the Hampton Collection, Ogden Memorial Library, Hampton Institute, Virginia. See also Suzanne Carson's Samuel Chapman Armstrong: Missionary to the South (Ph.D. 1952 Johns Hopkins University, Maryland). The papers of Armstrong are currently being worked into part of a centennial history of Hampton Institute (1868-1968) by Dr. Edward Graham. For the first half century of Hampton, see F.G. Peabody, Education for Life: The Story of Hampton Institute. Told in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the Foundation of the School (New York, 1919).
 7. Southern Workman, ix, February 1880. For Blyden's links with the American Colonization Society in working for Negro emigration to Africa, see H.R. Lynch, op.cit.

Blyden. He had increasingly been becoming convinced that Africa had a sufficiently valuable civilization of its own in which its youth might be educated without mimicking the West. Indeed, too often such western education had not only obscured African culture but had taught students to accept its permanent inferiority in any comparative scale of civilisation.⁸ He therefore wrote back to General Armstrong that he could not 'too much insist upon the idea that Africans to be useful at home among their people, must be educated among the circumstances where they are expected to live.'⁹

Blyden's educational maxim was, however, precisely the formula upon which Armstrong had founded Hampton in 1868 and which differentiated it from many of the other Negro schools and colleges established for the freedmen after the Civil War.¹⁰ Education for him had primarily an instrumental value, and was strictly conditioned by the necessities of

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8. E.W. Blyden, op.cit., pp.75-76, 91-92. 'Still, we are held in bondage by our indiscriminate and injudicious use of a foreign literature; and we strive to advance by the methods of a foreign race. In this effort we struggle with the odds against us. We fight at the disadvantage which David would have experienced in Saul's armour. The African must advance by methods of his own.' (p.77)
 9. E.W. Blyden to Hampton Institute, 20th November, 1879, reproduced in Southern Workman, ix, February 1880.
 10. Apart from the primary sources noted in reference 6 above, a very valuable commentary on Armstrong within the history of Negro development in education and politics is provided in A. Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1963), pp.88-89.

Negro life within the white South. If that white community was deeply prejudiced against any competitive political or professional role for Negroes, then the educational process must be realistically adjusted, and Negroes prepared for the sort of life open to them.¹¹ Both Blyden and Armstrong further believed that their education should find its inspiration and fulfilment in the unsophisticated life of the rural communities inland, and avoid as far as possible the contamination of the cities and the seaboard.¹² Their new type of training should therefore aim to destroy the traditional alienation of the educated man from his own people. Instead it would deliberately educate him with the return to his own community in mind. Thus, Armstrong explained to Blyden, Hampton would ideally fit the proposed African students, by giving them a place just a little ahead of the communities they would return to lead:

We believe however that the Hampton drill would avert the danger of 'walking on their heads', because of its ground work of elementary and industrial training, which tends to keep its students right end up.

Men fitted for the conditions of a simple civilisation will succeed in it. Those who are schooled up to the needs and duties of a higher or later plane, do not always land on their feet when forced by circumstances upon one that is lower or earlier.¹³

Here was Armstrong already predicting a solution to a problem

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11. For this reason, Armstrong's maxim, 'Education for Life' had some considerable ambiguity about it.
 12. cf. E.W. Blyden, 'Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans', pp.73, 92. Also see the original object of Hampton Institute, 'To prepare youth, especially those of color, for the work of teaching in the south.' MS.HI.12778, American Missionary Association Papers, Fisk University Library, Nashville, Tennessee. A main element in Blyden's rural preferences stemmed from his hostility to Negroes of mixed blood; see Lynch, op.cit., Chapter 6 *passim*.
 13. See reference 7 above.

that would be central to missions in Africa in the twentieth century: the creation of a rurally-based African leadership, made content, through education, with gradual advance:

The Hampton School is attempting an answer to this question. It finds itself a school for civilisation ...

Give new but moderate cravings and the means of supply, and there is great gain to the student. He is content with his old home when he returns to it; he has a relative ascendancy among his people; not so great as to make for him an isolated and lonely place, but enough to stimulate him, and lead others to emulate and follow him ...

We believe that some of Dr. Blyden's boys would gain by a course at Hampton, and that they would go back to Africa right side up, and do good work for that country.¹⁴

When Blyden made his second visit to Hampton in 1882, there was an indication that, by now, he recognised the eminent suitability of the Hampton training for his own Liberia College, and for work in Africa; after his speech to the Institute, no less than twelve Hampton students had agreed to transfer to Liberia College and finish their training there.¹⁵ And this indeed was only one aspect of

14. Ibid.

15. H.R. Lynch, *op.cit.*, pp.115, 159; for Blyden's speech to the students that elicited such a response, see Southern Workman, xii, January 1883, p.9, which expanded the theme that 'In Africa, from the equator to the Mediterranean, there are no savages; no place where you will not find the people manufacturing gold and iron, cultivating the ground, living in houses under laws, in communities. Why then call them savages?'

a growing enthusiasm and interest for Africa among the student body of the day.¹⁶

During the beginnings of this pan-African educational activity, Armstrong's particular interpretation of industrial training had been gaining ever-widening support among Northern and Southern whites. It was a process much helped by the term 'industrial' with its complex of moral, political and educational overtones.¹⁷ Industrial came, in fact, to be an extremely convenient shorthand in Hampton's first decade; for the Southern whites it signified disavowal of all political ambition on the part of the Negroes, and a readiness to stay in the South as a steady labour supply. The Northern whites of missionary and philanthropic disposition were gratified by the insistence upon the morality of the Hampton industrial work, and could continue to support liberally a system which Armstrong stressed was primarily 'for the sake of character'.¹⁸ The tendency to

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16. It is interesting to note that the American Negro, W.M. Sheppard, the future champion of African rights as Presbyterian missionary to the Congo, heard Blyden's address in his junior year at Hampton. This was by no means the beginning of Hampton's Africa interest. Ackrell E. White, Hampton's first missionary to Africa, had been teaching in Sierra Leone since the late 1870s, and had brought one of his African pupils, Claudius Clement to Hampton. There were at least two further Africans in the school: Joe Essel, from Salt Pond, West Africa, and Bellamy, a 20 year old Zulu, who had been one of a troop of Zulus brought for an exhibition, Southern Workman, xii, January, 1883, p.5.
17. Cf. August Meier, op.cit., pp.85-99; also Chapter II, references 60-64. The term 'industrial', both in this passage and subsequently, refers to simple forms of trade training or manual training in Negro schools. This included simple agricultural skills.
18. B. Mathews, op.cit., p.47; T.J. Jones, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States (Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1916, No.38, Washington, 1917), pp.81-82; A Meier, op.cit., p.92.

regard some form of industrial education as peculiarly appropriate to the current stage of Negro development was given great stimulus and semi-official approval by the foundation of the million-dollar Slater Fund in 1882.¹⁹ Not only were its own appropriations largely given in encouragement of industrial courses, but it attracted other moneys for the same cause. Moreover, throughout this first decade of the Slater Fund operations at least, there was little to suggest that industrial education was being fixed upon unwilling recipients. Most of the so-called liberal arts colleges for Negroes allowed the formation of industrial wings, in some cases substantial plants,²⁰ and opposition

19. The general agent of this exceedingly influential fund, Atticus G. Haywood, had commented in his first annual report of 1883 to his board:

'Investigation shows that only a small number of higher grade schools for colored youth have made any experiments in connecting handicraft training with instruction in books. With the work done by Hampton Institute under the direction of Gen. Armstrong, the board is familiar. It is proper to say that some of the most experienced workers in this field are not convinced of the wisdom of making industrial training an important feature in their plans and efforts. Many equally experienced entertain no doubts on this subject. They believe that industrial training is not only desirable as affording the means of making a more self-reliant and self-supporting population, but necessary as furnishing some of the conditions of the best intellectual and moral discipline of the colored people - especially of those who are to be the teachers and guides of their people. In this opinion your agent entirely concurs.' quoted in George S. Dickerman, 'History of Negro Education', in T.J. Jones, Negro Education (see reference 18 above), p.257. Also, A. Meier, op.cit., p.90 ff. It is not suggested that Haygood, in working for the extension of industrial education, disparaged the higher education of Negroes. No more stirring plea for higher education could be found at that period than his Address at the Fourth Annual Opening of the Gammon School of Theology, Atlanta, Georgia, October 27, 1886 (copies in the now derelict Gammon Theological Seminary building).

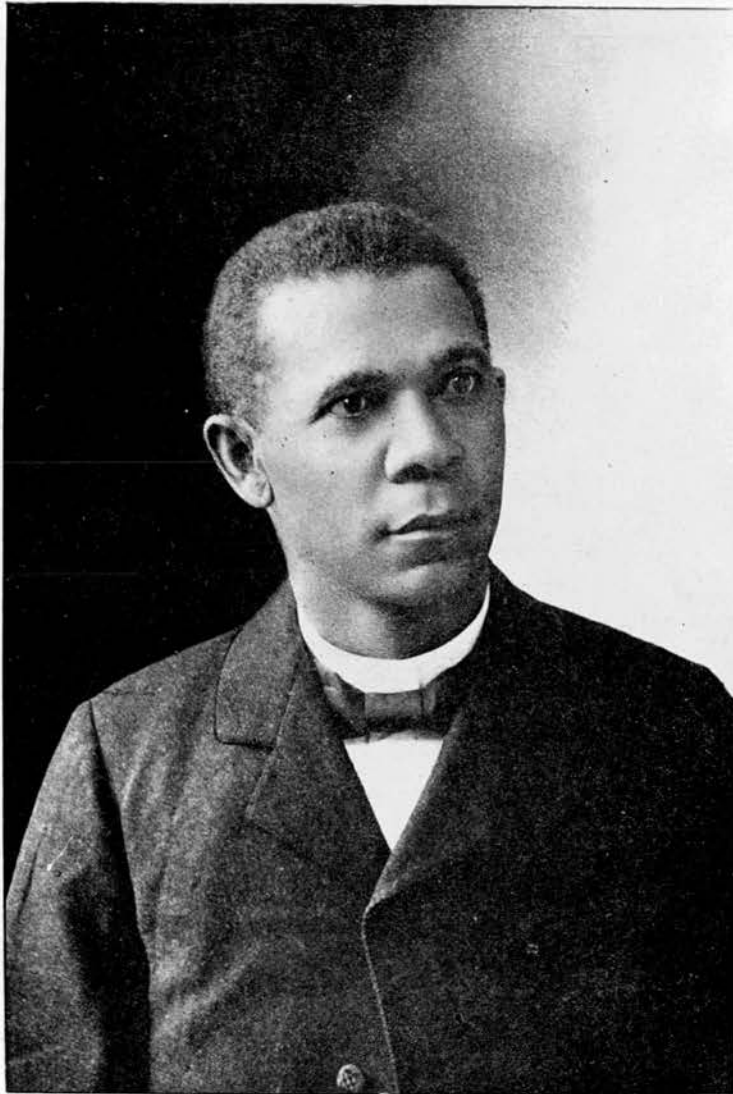
20. For Negro approval of industrial education during this period, see A. Meier, op.cit., pp.93-95.

appears to have been restricted to a very few.²¹ There was certainly no national Negro spokesman to oppose the trend to which Armstrong had first given currency.

It did, however, become increasingly likely that Negro opposition to industrial education would arise after September 1895. In that month, Booker Washington - by now presiding over a school that had grown fast by exploiting the same industrial formula as Hampton²² - delivered his Atlanta Exposition address.²³ It was a masterly explanation of the political and educational compromise upon which Hampton and Tuskegee had prospered, and an articulation of the concessions necessary to such prosperity. The very clarity with which it laid bare the sinews of Tuskegee's success accelerated the chance of refutation, for Washington had almost assured whites that Negro schooling and general status would for the foreseeable future benefit by abandoning

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21. The white president of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, did however turn down a large donation which had been offered for the establishment of an industrial education department in this traditionally liberal arts Negro college; cf. H.M. Bond, 'Forming African Youth', Africa Seen from the Point of View of American Negro Scholars, (Présence Africaine, Dijon, 1958), p.255.
 22. The only substantial difference between Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes was that Tuskegee had a black faculty from the president down, while Hampton had the largest white staff of any Negro school or college in the Southern States, see Chapter II, reference 6.
 23. The speech is reproduced in B.T. Washington's Up From Slavery, Chapter xiv, pp.265-273; cf. A. Meier, *op.cit.* pp.100-102.

PLATE II



Booker T. Washington as a young man.
(Tuskegee Institute Archives).

political agitation and the quest for higher education.²⁴ There was no new thing in the short address, except that the unspoken agreement of twenty years standing had been publicly analysed and elevated into a political programme.

Nor indeed did any immediate reaction to this speech come from the man who would shortly symbolise, for both American Negroes and Africans, the rejection of the Tuskegee compromise and the defence of the Negro's higher education. W.E. Burghardt DuBois in fact remained remarkably close to Washington's own position until the end of the century.²⁵ He had been a graduate of Fisk University, gained his doctorate at Harvard and from 1897 had been lecturing in Atlanta University; but at this stage saw nothing sinister in the prominence given industrial education through the

24. B.T. Washington, op.cit., pp.268, 271. It is interesting to set this disavowal of politics against the political beginning of Tuskegee:

'A most ironic aspect of Booker T. Washington's career is the context in which that career started. Tuskegee Institute itself was established precisely because, in 1880, the black people of Macon County possessed political power. As we have already stated, blacks then constituted the great majority of the county population. A former Confederate Colonel, W.F. Foster, was running for the Alabaman legislature on the Democratic ticket. Obviously needing black votes, he went to the local black leader, a Republican named Lewis Adams, and made a deal: if Adams would persuade the blacks to vote for him, he would - once elected - push for a state appropriation to establish a school for black people in the county. Adams delivered; Foster was elected, and a sum of \$2,000 per year was appropriated to pay teachers' salaries for a school. Adams wrote to Hampton Institute in Virginia for a person to come and set up the school,' from Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power. The Politics of Liberation in America (New York, 1967), p.125.

25. A.Meier, op.cit., p.198; for the details of W.E.B.DuBois' early academic and political life, see his two biographers, F.L. Broderick, W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis (Stanford, 1959), and Elliott M. Rudwick, W.E.B. DuBois: A Study in Minority Group Leadership (Philadelphia, 1960).

the Slater Fund and other agencies.²⁶ In his own blueprint for education written between 1897 and 1900, A Rational System of Negro Education, there was, if anything, a tendency to play down the need for a large body of college-educated Negroes, while a very strong case was made out for industrial institutes:

There is room for a large normal or industrial institute for Negroes in every southern state, and in some states two, possibly three, could be well supported.

Turning now to preparatory schools and colleges, there is undoubtedly a field among the Negroes for limited work of high grade in these lines. Two or three small well equipped colleges could easily supply the needs of the whole south and could gather a hundred or more students a piece.²⁷

Within three years, however, revolt against the monopoly of industrial education had grown much more articulate,²⁸ and DuBois was not by any means initiating a

26. W.E.B. DuBois, The Negro Artisan, Atlanta University Publication No.7. (Atlanta, 1902), p.39.

27. W.E.B. DuBois, A Rational System of Negro Education, MS. 1897-1900, W.E.B. DuBois papers, Park Johnson Archives, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. It is interesting, in the light of his later position on philanthropy and the Negro college, that he could write here: 'It should be the aim of philanthropists and statesmen to place upon the hierarchy of common schools with manual training a fitting keystone in the shape of one or two colleges with high standards of scholarship and proper equipment to secure this.'

28. DuBois' essay should be read against the background of, for instance, R.J. Bigham's Shall We Commercialize the Negro (address at the Nineteenth Formal Opening Day, Gammon Theological Seminary, 1901, South Atlanta, Georgia). It anticipated many of the points DuBois would make two years later:

'In my opinion industrial education, even with its sideline of a little learning will, if not safe guarded and under-girded by higher and distinctive intellectual training for the race, forge the chains of a servitude on the black man from which he will never recover.' (p.6).

It should be remembered that DuBois very possibly heard this address, which ended with a note of the very greatest concern:

[Contd.]

trend when his famous attack on the educational and political assumptions of industrial education was published in the spring of 1903. The novelty in this essay, 'Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others',²⁹ consisted in DuBois' fixing his indictment upon the man who, more than any other, had become the symbol of compromise through industry. His quarrel with Washington was not over industrial education as such, but because the Tuskegee programme of conciliating the South and promoting industrial education had been erected into 'a veritable Way of Life' for all Negroes in the United States.³⁰ Where Washington had begged forgiveness in his Atlanta address for Negroes presuming to start straight from slavery with college studies,³¹ DuBois retorted that historically the university had always preceded the common school, and that Tuskegee itself had only been

28.Contd.]

'President Tucker of Dartmouth College, has been quoted as saying, "I believe with a growing conviction that the salvation of the Negro in this country lies with the exceptional men of that race." The President is right.

I have known these people face to face all my life, and have studied them carefully for many years. I believe that they were never before so threatened since they landed here, and I urge that the ablest men undertake at once a very sober and a very vigorous campaign in the interest of the higher education of the Negro. I speak these words to put his friends in the North and in the East on notice that the money and the men which they have spent in God's name on him these last forty years are in peril. More must be given, or much if not all of what has been given will be lost.'(p.8).

29. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others', in The Souls of Black Folk. Essays and Sketches (first published Chicago 1903; 'Crest' paperback edition, New York, 1961), pp.42-54.

30. Ibid., p.43. In fact the politics of industrial education somewhat obscured the place of Washington as an educational innovator, see B. Mathews, op.cit., Chapter 8 passim.

31. B.T. Washington, Up From Slavery, pp.266, 268.

made possible by the presence of teachers trained at the liberal arts colleges.³² But what was more important than correcting Washington's disparagement of higher education, DuBois had marked out in bold strokes the political consequences that could flow from a depressed people, like the Negroes, accepting a different set of educational criteria from the dominant group. The education of a dependent race had in fact once and for all been shown to be a supremely political affair. DuBois' analysis was not going to prevent over the next thirty years Tuskegee's insights from being applied increasingly to subject peoples in India and Africa; it did begin the process, however, of providing for such peoples a rational platform from which allegedly educational reforms could be scrutinised for their underlying political effect. And although there were undeniably some truly progressive educational methods employed by Washington, it would always be possible from this date to consider these as much dictated by white supremacy as by modern pedagogics.

It was exceedingly significant that this dispute over the politics of Negro education should have taken place at a time when both Washington and DuBois were beginning to interest themselves in Africa; for it involved the translation to that continent of the increasingly emotive terms, industrial and college education. The full dimensions of this American Negro conflict would not, however, become apparent in African education for some years; and initially at least, DuBois and Washington appear to have acted in

32. W.E.B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk, pp.79,83-84.

unison over Africa.

This extension of their interest to Africa was not particularly original in the context of the late 1880s and 1890s; it would have been much more strange if they had shown no concern. Africa then was very much more in the air than when Edward Blyden had first visited Hampton in 1874. Negro missions to Africa were especially prominent, and the call to serve in Africa was frequently laid upon the Negro colleges.³³ Indeed the same year as Washington's Atlanta Exposition address, this great movement for African mission was symbolised by a famous Congress on Africa in the same city.³⁴ In addition, African students were more frequently appearing in Negro colleges, and themselves counselling their American brethren to take up educational

33. For the many hundreds of Negro students who volunteered for African service in the late 1880s and early 1890s, see H.M. Bond, 'The Origin and Development of the Negro Church-related College', The Journal of Negro Education (Washington D.C.), xxix, No. 3. Summer, 1960, pp.223-224; cf. also the establishment in 1894 of the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa, in Atlanta, Georgia, specifically to prepare American Negroes for missionary work in Africa. Africa was prominent also at Fisk University when DuBois was an undergraduate; typical of this was a letter from a Fisk man in East Africa writing in the Fisk Herald during DuBois' editorship, to suggest a 'colony of educated, civilised and christianised Americo-Africans' in East Africa, (letter of B.F. Ousley, 16.12.87, Fisk Herald, v, Dec. 1887.)

Cf. also Dr. James Stewart of Lovedale, South Africa, lecturing to Hampton students on African mission in December, 1893, Southern Workman, xxii, January, 1894, pp.13-15. See also, E.S. Redkey, 'Bishop Turner's African Dream', Journal of American History, liiv, No.2, 1967, pp.271-290.

34. J.W.E. Bowen (editor) Africa and the American Negro. Addresses and Proceedings of the Congress on Africa held under the auspices of the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa, Dec. 13-15, 1895. (Atlanta, Georgia, 1896); for Blyden on this great Congress, see H.R. Lynch, op.cit., p.137; cf. also G. Shepperson and T. Price Independent African (Edinburgh, 1958), pp.99, 103-105.

work in Africa.³⁵

When, therefore, Washington was in London in 1899, it was natural that he should be sought out by the West Indian, African and American Negro organisers of the 1900 Pan-African Conference, to join them in arranging its programme.³⁶ Nor was Washington in this early contact with Pan-Africanism so ready to mute all protest against white rule as his 1895 address might have suggested. Some of the subjects to be discussed the following year at the 1900 Conference were nothing if not inflammatory: 'The Cruelty of Civilised Paganism, of which our Race is the Victim'; 'Europe's Atonement for her Blood-guiltiness to Africa, is the loud cry of Current History'; 'Organised Plunder versus Human Progress has made our race its Battlefield';³⁷ and yet Washington could publicly endorse this in England and encourage Negro attendance:

I beg and advise as many of our people as can possibly do so, to attend this conference. In my opinion it is going to be one of the most effective

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35. Cf. John Dube, the African student from Natal, after 10 years of American education, pleaded in various American Negro colleges and schools for students to go to Africa; he told the students of Hampton and Tuskegee in June, 1897, 'Think what two such schools as Hampton and Tuskegee would do for our people!..... The graduates of Hampton both men and women would make a great impression upon my people ...', Southern Workman, xxvi, No.7, p.142. For Dube's co-ordinated campaigns for Africa in the company of Joseph Booth and John Chilembwe, see G. Shepperson and T. Price, *op.cit.*, p.92. For Zulu students at Lincoln University, see H.M. Bond, reference 21 above, p.252.
36. B.T. Washington, 'The Pan-African Conference - Its Object and its Promoters', an article written in London, England, July 25th, 1899, in Some European Observations and Experiences (Tuskegee Institute Press, circ. 1900), p.8.
37. *Ibid.*, p.9.

and far-reaching gatherings that has ever been held in connection with the development of the race.³⁸

One of those who did attend and play a leading role in this Conference in July 1900 was DuBois, and he, unlike Washington, was prepared unequivocally to carry its spirit of outspoken protest back with him to the Southern States.³⁹

Despite Washington's apparent approval of protest policies for Africa,⁴⁰ by 1900 he had encouraged a much more characteristically Tuskegee approach to the continent. Three Tuskegee graduates and a staff member had arrived in Togo to develop cotton culture under the aegis of a German

38. Ibid., p.9. On the larger significance of this conference within the development of Pan-Africanism, see Imanuel Geiss, 'The Development of Pan-Africanism in the Twentieth Century', a paper read at Edinburgh, 1965, copy in African Studies Centre, Edinburgh University; also G. Shepperson, 'Pan-Africanism and "Pan-Africanism": Some Historical Notes', Phylon (The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture), xxiii, No.4, 1962, p.354.

39. W.E. B. DuBois, an address at the conference, 'To the Nations of the World' is usefully reproduced in An ABC of Color: Selections from over half century of the writings of W.E.B. DuBois ('Sevenses' publishers, Berlin, 1964), pp.19-23.

40. This apparent departure from Washington's normal policy of avoiding overt protest on racial matters, may be partly explained by his desire on this European trip to show that many classes of people, especially Negroes, were much worse off outside the United States. It was also a way of dissuading Negro emigration to Africa. In, for instance, his article, 'No Place for the Negro in Africa - What Stanley Says' (which was written just after his article on the Pan-African Conference), he could state quite openly that 'Cecil Rhodes is directly responsible for the killing of thousands of black natives in South Africa, that he might secure their land'. This and other gloomy facts about Africa were used to point the lesson: 'All this shows pretty conclusively that a return to Africa for the Negro is out of the question ... the adjustment of the relations of the two races must take place here in America; and it is taking place slowly but surely'. In Some European Observations and Experiences, pp.10-11.

colonial development company, a scheme which eventually employed nine Tuskegee graduates over a ten year period.⁴¹ But the project had a significance beyond its strictly limited economic success, for it opened up wide possibilities both for Washington and colonial officials that Tuskegee principles could be applied more generally in Africa, and not only in isolated industrial schemes but throughout entire school systems. By 1904, Washington was noting the effect of the Togo project upon German Colonial thinking:

The Germans have been so strongly impressed with these effects of industrial training upon the natives, that they have decided to introduce into all the schools of that colony a system for the training of boys in handwork.⁴²

This initial demonstration of Tuskegee in Africa was followed shortly afterwards by a parallel scheme in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, employing four more 'Captains of Industry', as Washington called these young Tuskegee pioneers.⁴³ They were also employed in Nigeria and possibly in the Belgian Congo, and a further team came close to being used in British East Africa for cotton growing.⁴⁴ In South

41. Louis R. Harlan, 'Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden', American Historical Review, lxxi, No.2, January, 1966, pp.442-446.

42. B.T. Washington, Working with the Hands (London, 1904), p.230.

43. L.R. Harlan, op.cit., p.447.

44. Ibid. The scheme to use American Negroes in British East Africa is particularly interesting, as it was the first of a long series of unsuccessful attempts to have American Negro workers in that territory. It is not clear why the project came to nothing, for there was complete willingness on Washington's part to produce Tuskegee graduates for the purpose; see J.K. Jones to B.T. Washington, 5 Sept. 1907 and 23 Sept. 1907, box 351, B.T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. For later attempts to use Negroes in East Africa, see Chapter III passim, and Chapter VI, refs. 17-23.

Africa, too, there came a gradual recognition that Tuskegee might have a peculiarly relevant lesson to teach traditional missionaries to the Africans; Washington was actually consulted by the South African Commissioner for Education on the problem of organising education in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and gave it as his opinion that there was 'no very great difference between the native problem there and the Negro problem in America'.⁴⁵

Soon the idea had occurred to Robert Park, Washington's closest white adviser, that all the informal contacts between Tuskegee and Africa in the matter of industrial education should be given greater publicity. He suggested in 1905 that Washington write an article 'recommending that the Powers in Africa, the missionaries and educators, to come together in an international conference to devise means for the systematic extension of industrial training in Africa'.⁴⁶ The moment was particularly opportune, Park felt, for Tuskegee to give a lead in the industrialising of mission activity, for both missionaries and governments seemed ready to review their traditional educational activities. The Conference was not to come for several years,⁴⁷ but conviction in Tuskegee was growing that its

45. L.R. Harlan, op.cit., pp.448-449.

46. R.E. Park to B.T. Washington, 25 September 1905, box 30, Washington papers, Library of Congress. For the role of Br. Robert E. Park in Tuskegee and further afield, see B. Mathews, Booker T. Washington. Educator and Inter-racial Interpreter (London, 1949), pp.259-260.

47. Some of the steps along the road to a major Tuskegee conference on education were (a) the projected conference between T. Thomas Fortune of the New York Age and Washington in 1906, (b) discussions over Tuskegees for Africa between a Gold Coast African, J.E.K. Aggrey and Washington in 1906, (c) 1908 conference of experienced workers on Africa arranged at Tuskegee between

philosophy had a very special role to play in this form of educational pan-Africanism. Emmett J. Scott, the secretary of the Institute, spotlighted and explained the magnetic appeal of Tuskegee in an article of the following year:

This intercourse has been fostered partly by a sentimental interest that the Negroes in America feel in the land from which their ancestors came and by the desire of the native people to see what men of their own race have accomplished in this country towards mastering the white man's civilisation. But the chief reason why graduates have been induced to go to Africa and students from Africa have been led to come here is because both the white men who rule in Africa and the natives who are ruled there have come to believe that in this school a method and a type of education has been evolved which is peculiarly suited to their needs.⁴⁸

Appeals continued to come to Tuskegee in the next few years seeking Washington's advice on educational problems in Africa.⁴⁹ But it was probably a combination of events in 1910 and 1911 that finally decided him to hold the major international conference that Park had suggested. Washington had been in Europe in the late summer and autumn of 1910, and it is possible that he had made some contact while in England and Scotland with those missionary leaders and educationists who had been recently engaged with the first

47. Contd.]

Bishop Isaiah Scott and Washington. See respectively, G. Shepperson, 'Pan-Africanism and "Pan-Africanism": Some Historical Notes', Phylon, xxiii, No.4, 1962, p.354. E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929), p.146; B. Mathews, Booker T. Washington: Educator and Inter-racial Interpreter, p.243.

48. E.J. Scott, 'Tuskegee in Africa and Africa at Tuskegee', 2 page typed copy, circa 1906 in box 335, B.T. Washington papers, Library of Congress.

49. For the appeal from Liberia especially, see B. Mathews, *op.cit.*, chapter xvi, pp.241-254.

World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh during June 1910; this was especially likely as the conference had recommended that African missionaries pay particular attention to Tuskegee and Hampton.⁵⁰ A contributory factor also may have been the invitation in 1911 for him to conduct an educational tour of the West Indies.⁵¹ But it was probably an element of his continuing competition with DuBois that led him as much as anything else to display the Tuskegee way before an international audience. DuBois had after all recently gained a position of considerable influence in the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, which had been founded in 1910, as an organisation pledged, amongst other things, to protest on racial issues and make foreign propaganda. And a great deal of this agitation stemmed from its official organ, The Crisis, which began its stormy career under DuBois' editorship in November 1910. The following year he had achieved further prominence in a line Washington disapproved, for his role as one of the United States Secretaries in the Universal Races Congress in London.⁵²

Whatever influence DuBois may have indirectly had in the timing of the project, the International Conference on the Negro at Tuskegee in April, 1912, certainly fulfilled

50. For some of the influential people Washington met in England and Scotland, see My Larger Education (London, 1911), pp.257-261; also The Times (London) No.39381, Sept. 19, 1910, p.6; see further Chapter II, refs. 93, 101, 102.

51. See Chapter II, ref. 26.

52. For the continuing warfare with DuBois, see Elliott M. Rudwick, op.cit., pp.131, 133-134, and especially over DuBois' prominence at the Universal Races Congress, *ibid.*, pp.142-148.

a wide demand for information on Washington's methods.⁵³ Delegates came from eighteen foreign countries and from twelve different religious denominations; the majority representation was naturally from the West Indies and the American South, but there was a scattering of white and Negro workers from Africa.⁵⁴ As far as can be ascertained, however, only one native African attended.⁵⁵

Washington himself viewed the conference as having a double objective: first, to expose leading missionary and colonial educators to the workings of Tuskegee, and then 'to see to what extent the methods employed here can be applied to the problems concerning the people in countries that are peopled by the darker races'.⁵⁶ Thus, quite explicitly by then, he was regarding Tuskegee's education as in some way peculiarly appropriate to non-whites generally, and anticipating, by this policy of attracting white and Negro visitors to his institute, those agencies which after his death would make Tuskegee the very fount of

53. Robert E. Park, 'The International Conference on the Negro', Southern Workman, xli, No.6, June, 1912, p.348. The Conference was given a semi-official status by the presence of the Hon. P.P. Claxton, U.S. Commissioner of Education, Bureau of Education, Washington.

54. For example, James Denton, principal of Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone; J.R. Williams, Director of Education for Jamaica; Dr. William Sheppard, Negro missionary of the Southern Presbyterian Church in the Congo; Bishop Isaiah Scott, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Monrovia. The only evidence of East African interest was from the Lumbwa Industrial Mission, British East Africa, see O.H. Scouten to B.T. Washington, 2 May, 1912, box 61, B.T. Washington papers, Library of Congress.

55. i.e. Mark Casely Hayford, brother of the distinguished Gold Coast nationalist, J.E. Casely Hayford.

56. Robert Park, see reference 53 above.

"correct" African education.

The Conference was, however, most notable for demonstrating the variety of opinions prepared to underwrite Tuskegee's relevance to Africa. If it had not become clear before, it was obvious by then that attitudes to Tuskegee could be extremely complex. Beyond the straight dichotomy over the rights and wrongs of industrial education, there was a whole cluster of near mythical elements attached to Tuskegee, and particularly was this true of African reactions. E.W. Blyden, for instance, had paid very little attention to the level on which DuBois had attacked Tuskegee, but saw it rather as a 'noble monument' to black enterprise, and as the most solid evidence of 'what the African can do for himself.'⁵⁷ Several other Africans, who were not able to attend the conference, took similar positions. An Ethiopian Church in Johannesburg interpreted the meeting as an endorsement of black independence in African mission work - scarcely a position that Washington would have subscribed to himself.⁵⁸ And from the Gold Coast the noted nationalist writer, J.E. Casely Hayford, made no mention of Tuskegee's industrial features in his letter to the conference, emphasising instead the spirit of racial solidarity that Tuskegee invoked, and hinting at a larger political end:

57. E.W. Blyden, 'West Africa Before Europe', Journal of the African Society, ii, July, 1903, p.372. Blyden died in fact two months before the conference, but he had written a message of encouragement which was read out to the delegates.

58. 'The Negro in Conference at Tuskegee Institute', African Times and Orient Review, i, No.1, July, 1912, p.11.

There is an African nationality, and when the Aborigines of the Gold Coast and other parts of West Africa have joined forces with our brethren in America in arriving at a national aim, purpose and aspiration, then indeed will it be possible for our brethren over the sea to bring home metaphorically to their nation and people a great spoil.⁵⁹

It seems that with many Africans it was not so much the white money behind Tuskegee but the black president and all-black staff that gave it much of its appeal. For this was certainly the element that explained publicity for the Conference in the newly founded 'Pan-African Journal', The African Times and Orient Review.⁶⁰ Its editor, Duse Mohammed Ali, gave wide coverage to 'The Negro in Conference at Tuskegee Institute' in the first issue of his journal, and followed that with a long article by Booker Washington in the second number.⁶¹ Although it is to anticipate some two years, this same sense that Tuskegee stood out as an island of black pride and racial solidarity drew the early admiration of Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican leader of the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association.⁶²

59. Ibid., pp.10-11.

60. See reference 58, pp.9-11. Ian Duffield is completing a biography of Duse Mohammed Ali for his Ph.D. thesis at Edinburgh University. The term 'Pan-African journal' is used by Duse Mohammed Ali in describing his periodical, see Geiss, op.cit., p.7.

61. Booker T. Washington, 'Tuskegee Institute', African Times and Orient Review, 1, No.2, August 1912, pp.48-53 (in fact the substance of this Washington article is taken from his earlier, 'The Fruits of Industrial Training', Atlantic Monthly, November, 1903, reprinted at Tuskegee Institute, 1910.)

62. Marcus Garvey to B.T. Washington, 12 April, 1915, box 939. B.T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress; Garvey's intention to visit 'the great institution' at Tuskegee was blocked by Washington's death in October of that year. He did, however, eventually fulfil his ambition to study Tuskegee, in November, 1923; see Chapter VIII, references 48-49.

There was a similarly broad spectrum of white approval for Tuskegee at the Conference. Just as in the United States the white North and white South could sink their substantial differences in common support of Tuskegee's industrial features, so now in Africa white fighters for African rights could share admiration for Tuskegee with more conservative thinkers. Thus E.D. Morel, who had played a major part in publicising the scandals of the Congo's rubber exploitation, addressed a paper to the conference which demonstrated how he could combine the highest approbation for the achievements of African culture with the demand for Tuskegee-type education.⁶³ His very esteem for African civilisation made him the more anxious to grasp whatever would prevent Africans from becoming deracialised. Nor did Morel share the anthropologist's view of an African life that must be sheltered in its simplicity from the outside world. Like Blyden, whom he quoted in his paper, he was concerned to protect a highly developed civilisation:

The average individual is surprised without measure to learn of the existence of African cities (I do not mean European cities in Africa, but African cities, built by Africans, and inhabited exclusively by Africans.) with written records hundreds of years old; of African industries which give healthy employment to tens of thousands of African men and women; of an African civilisation superior in some of its social aspects to the western civilisation of today.⁶⁴

63. Washington had met E.D. Morel during his 1910 European tour. Morel's address, 'The Future of Tropical Africa', Southern Workman, xli, No.6, June, 1912, pp.353-362, was not read at the conference, possibly because he strongly rejected the idea held by Washington that the American Negro and the African should be considered as having identical problems. (See reference 45 above.)

64. *Ibid.*, pp.353-354.

As, however, missionary education had so far had the effect of creating an educated elite that had lost its interest in its own culture, Morel was now prepared to underwrite a system like Tuskegee's, which promised the development of a whole society along the lines of its own genius.

The South African, Maurice Evans, who was representing the African Society at the Conference, reached the same conclusions by a somewhat different route, but equally invoked Blyden as corroboration for his policy.⁶⁵ Africans were in his view not destined as a race to make any contribution in the areas of European mastery; there was little point in supporting an African educational system that believed it important to produce 'a few learned or artistic prodigies'.⁶⁶ Rather they should be educated to fulfil better what they most naturally were - 'a race of peasants living by and on the land'.⁶⁷ What was needed therefore was some educational model that had gone off the white standard, and there was none more obvious or successful than Tuskegee.

Both Morel and Evans feared for different reasons the consequences of de-Africanisation or deracialisation, and both believed that it should be the function of the school

65. Maurice S. Evans, 'Education among the Bantu of South East Africa', Southern Workman, xli, No.6, June, 1912, pp.363-368. See further, M.S. Evans, Black and White in the Southern States: A Study of the Race Problem in the United States from a South African Point of View (London, 1915), p.135.

66. Maurice S. Evans, 'Education among the Bantu of South East Africa', see reference 65, p.367.

67. Ibid.

to maintain a pride in things African. Their support of Tuskegee's education as a remedy for the increasing westernising of African societies failed, however, to raise questions that would remain significant over the next thirty years. Was industrial education really any more 'African' than academic western education? Could curricular changes in African schools radically alter the pattern of African aspirations, and break their determination to conform to the standards of the white world? Were there real justifications for the growing white conviction that what was good for the Negro in the Southern States was good for the Negro in Africa?

These were only a few of the questions that were not thrown up, when they might very usefully have been, at the Tuskegee International Conference. Questions were, however, raised concerning how the American Negro missionaries could best serve their African brethren within the framework of white overrule,⁶⁸ and much thought was also given to how best the American Negro colleges and schools could prepare their African students to return for valuable work among their own people.⁶⁹

68. Considerable time at the Conference was given over to hearing of 'the grievous complaint among coloured missionaries in the United States' that they were being blocked from entering Africa, 'The Negro in Conference at Tuskegee Institute', African Times and Orient Review, 1, No.1, July 1912, p.12.

69. R.E. Park, see reference 53 above, pp.348-349; 'For a number of years we have had on our grounds many students from countries outside of the United States. From year to year we have from one hundred to one hundred and fifty students, representing foreign countries, and we are anxious that these students should be fitted to go back to their homes and render the highest and best service. We hope that during the discussion we shall

It is fitting perhaps that out of a Conference held at Tuskegee there should have arisen no very precise statement of conclusions. So many otherwise conflicting groups found it possible to endorse Tuskegeeism for such widely differing reasons that only the most generalised declaration of results was feasible. A form of co-operation had certainly been achieved, but it would remain to be seen whether the consensus over the declarations could outlive Booker Washington's death just three years later. The Conference ended nevertheless on a note that seemed both optimistic and prophetic:

The International Conference on the Negro has opened up a new field of co-operation among those interested in the Negro race; Tuskegee has become a great experimental station in racial education and a center of Negro life; the questions which were raised for discussion will affect native races in all parts of the world.⁷⁰

69. Contd.]

get much valuable information as to the actual needs in the countries from which the students come, so that they will be trained to some definite point of usefulness. We want them to go back home after they get their education and prove of service.' See further Chapter VIII.

70. Ibid., p.352.

CHAPTER II

TUSKEGEE, PHILANTHROPY AND THE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

By Washington's death in 1915, his hopes for Tuskegee to become the experimental station for the education of the Negro world seemed more likely to be fulfilled than they had at the time of the International Conference on the Negro. In the interval, the two agencies in America and Britain principally concerned with the development of education in backward areas had been reassessing the basis of their educational aid: foreign Christian mission policy, especially that concerned with Africa, was becoming progressively disenchanted with providing undifferentiated western education, and was casting about for a more appropriate alternative; while in America there was a parallel desire on the part of the philanthropic funds operating in the Southern States to professionalise their benefactions, and define more clearly the type of Negro education most deserving of aid. Both streams converged on Tuskegee, and the result was to re-fashion as respectable educational theory what had been Tuskegee's compromise solution to racial discrimination. Industrial education had originally been introduced as an assurance that the Negro would continue to provide low level labour supply for the White South; Tuskegeeism would now be reinterpreted on the Negro's behalf as the first stage of the revolution against the traditional European and American concept of the school. In practice, however, this new educational justification for Tuskegee would never be entirely

free from the old political implications of caste education, such as had made the Washington-DuBois dispute so bitter. Thus dissension would continue no less fiercely in the decade after Washington's death, only it would now be a feud between DuBois and those philanthropic foundations that interpreted Washington's policy. In particular, the mantle of Washington would fall on the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and its Educational Director, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones.

The beginning of Dr. Jones' association with Negro education had been in 1902,¹ when he had joined the staff of

1. Thomas Jesse Jones had been born in North Wales in 1873, his grandfather a rural blacksmith, his father a village saddler. He had come to the States as a boy of eleven years, and had gained his education in Washington and Lee University in Virginia, transferred to Marietta College in Ohio, graduating with an A.B. in 1897. He had proceeded to take both M.A. and Ph.D. at Columbia University, where his thinking was strongly influenced by the sociologist Professor Franklin Giddings. In 1902 Dr. Frissell called him to Hampton Institute.

In America he retained great pride in his Welsh background, although there was a side to this that could prove inconvenient, as an early English visitor to Hampton noted; Sir Harry H. Johnston had in 1908 observed of the Hampton faculty:

'... one of them interested me more than the others. This was Mr. Thomas Jesse Jones, a Welshman, born and bred, of wit and discernment. Though he was a nice-looking man, he belonged, as he humorously explained, to that dark type of southern Welshman who is particularly Iberian or North African in appearance; and he complained that this slight suggestion of the pre-historic Negroid worried him at times when his journeys extended into the Southern States. He was apt to feel timorous as to whether his brown eyes and dark hair might not cause him to be recommended by a tram-conductor or a railway official, to take the car or portion of the car, reserved for people of colour.' Sir Harry H. Johnston, The Story of My Life (London, 1923) p.418.

I am indebted to Professor George Shepperson for this early insight into Jones' sensitivity in racial matters. For a photograph of Jones, see Plate VI.

E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929), pp.68-69, provides a useful account of Dr. Jones' career prior to entering Hampton. Cf. also, Reports of the Principal, Hampton Institute, for 1902 to 1905, Hampton Institute Library, Hampton, Virginia.

Hampton Institute; and in the post of Director of the Research Department, had found the first opportunity for his lifelong conviction that the race problem could be solved by the uncontroversial presentation of the Negro's basic requirements. Already in his six years of teaching at Hampton, Dr. Jones' views on the issues that would be of supreme importance to his later national and international work were being formed. Through the medium of his classes on social studies and civics, he worked to impart an attitude towards racial inequalities that did not involve antagonism. His students received his earliest attempts to lessen racial tension; they were taught to rethink the whole concept of racial injustice, and explain the apparent difficulties of the Negroes or the Red Indians² in the Social Darwinist categories of the day. Thus, there was really no such thing as racial discrimination or racial oppression, but 'natural difficulties'³ common to every race as it evolved on its slow timescale. The element of determinism in such a philosophy made it possible to label as 'precocious' or 'not natural' individuals in lower stages who set themselves against the 'social forces controlling and limiting the development of races'.⁴

2. From 1878 to 1911, Hampton received Federal appropriations for Red Indian education. There were, therefore, at times from seventy to one hundred Indian girls or boys in the school. For Booker T. Washington's experience as house-master of the Hampton 'Wigwam', see Up From Slavery, ('Nelson' edition), pp.118-134..

3. T.J. Jones 'Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum', Southern Workman, xxxiv, December, 1905, p.689.

4. Ibid.

Most important, Dr. Jones was provided with a system of thought that could assess the value in such phrases as 'social equality', 'Negro domination', and 'Negro independence'. These terms did not, as he saw it, correspond to anything appropriate to the present stage of Negro development, and their use could only be construed as forms of untimely incitement. Exactly what connotation he gave particularly to independent Negro effort is worth noticing at this point, since it was an issue that decidedly coloured his thinking both in America and later in Africa. He indicated his usual line of approach when the subject arose in his Social Studies Classes:

'Negro Independence' is a shibboleth used by a certain number of Negroes to persuade the race into their own power and away from the influence of the whites. The power of this phrase has been growing in the ranks of those who are more influenced by unfounded beliefs and hearsay evidence than by actual knowledge.⁵

This unsympathetic rejection of any legitimate aspirations behind the notion of Negro independence defined effectively the force of his byword, co-operation; it could only now signify the acceptance of substantial white influence in the leadership of Negro activity. In this respect perhaps Hampton was not a particularly fortunate introduction to the problems of inter-racial co-operation; membership of a predominantly white teaching force of almost one hundred and fifty⁶ was not necessarily a good preparation

5. T.J. Jones, 'Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum', Southern Workman, xxxvi, January, 1907, p.44.

6. This number constituted the largest concentration of white teachers in the Southern States in a Negro college or school. Teaching ratios were exceedingly favourable: for a school population of only 762, Hampton had 210 staff (147 white); comparative figures show: Tuskegee:- pupils 1,338, with all-black staff of 184; Atlanta University:- pupils 586 with 33 staff (29 white); Fisk:- students 505 with 45 staff (31 white).

for considering Negro demands to lead their own institutions. Co-operation to Dr. Jones also signified an insistence that no political differences need be so radical that common ground could not be found. Any measure of agreement was preferable to admitting irreconcilability. He was to devote much of his life to showing people the possibilities of collaboration, and for this at least Hampton had provided relevant training. Its very existence was based upon just such a small area of common ground between the white North, the white South and the Negro people, a position every President of Hampton was aware made supreme calls upon diplomacy. One had commented:

In the delicate and difficult task of trying to be fair to our Northern white supporters, our large Negro constituency and our sincerely valued Southern white friends, we cannot hope, I suppose, to please and satisfy all three groups all of the time.

This, however, would be Dr. Jones' most characteristic activity, whether in Atlanta, or later in Nairobi and Capetown, to work for unity and compromise whenever there was the danger of racial, economic or political views hardening into non-co-operation. Soon he had mastered a technique for use in conflict situations, the first and most essential element in which was the avoidance of what could be construed as the real issues. Following the principles of Booker Washington, he became convinced that in the Southern situation at any rate there was absolutely no gain to be made for Negro education by antagonising the whites. Jones operated there-

7. J.E. Gregg to Governor Trinkle, 11th July, 1925, in R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1925, Tuskegee Institute Archives (hereinafter, RRM. GC. 1925. TUA.).

fore a personal ban on the employment of all terms that implied criticism of the white South: lynching, social equality, Negro rights, discrimination. Instead, some small constructive achievement would be alluded to, and at least then negotiations for co-operation might begin.

One of his first practical attempts to embody this philosophy was the aim of bringing about a reconciliation between the traditionally rival schools of thought on Negro education - the industrial and the literary, and behind these, the Washington and DuBois' political creeds.⁸ Jones' purpose was to associate the academic researches of DuBois with the practical efforts in social welfare for which Hampton had made a stand. More particularly there seemed the possibility of linking DuBois' Atlanta University Conference for the Study of Negro Problems with the Annual Hampton Conference.⁹ A

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8. The famous rivalry between the two schools of thought should not be overemphasised; DuBois, at any rate, was consistent in never opposing industrial education as such, only the tendency of philanthropy and Tuskegee to erect it into the true mode of Negro education. Part of the rivalry also stemmed from Hampton and Tuskegee's near monopolistic control of the Northern finance; DuBois touched this theme in a typical critique of Hampton: 'Its illiberal and seemingly selfish attitude towards other colored schools; it holds little or no fellowship with them; it has repeatedly loaned itself to decrying their work, criticising and belittling their ideals while its friends continually seek to divert to Hampton the already pitifully meager revenues of the colored colleges'. (W.E.B. DuBois to Miss Davis, an undated statement to Hampton in 1917, Frissell Papers, Hampton Institute Archives); cf. also August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington, (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1963), pp.85-99. See further Chapter VIII, reference 33.
9. The Atlanta University Publications which were the results of these annual conferences were, Dr. Jones admitted, required reading for any serious student of the race problem. See also, F.L. Broderick, W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis, (Stanford, 1959), pp.41-42.

provisional arrangement was made therefore between Jones and DuBois that these two centres with their two very different traditions should co-operate in the production of publications in 1907 on 'The Negro Home'.¹⁰

More important than the actual study was, to Jones' mind, the opportunity for channelling DuBois' energies away from unrealistic speculations by personal involvement in local community welfare. It was to be Jones' first skirmish in a campaign lasting over thirty years to counteract the effect of DuBois' radical investigations in racial problems. Before differences polarised finally, Jones thought it quite possible that DuBois might be won for constructive rather than critical policies:

Hampton and Atlanta can much more easily co-operate than Tuskegee and Atlanta. Beginning thus at the points of least divergence on a concrete proposition there is a strong possibility that the larger harmony can be brought about.

DuBois as one of the leaders of the race must be reckoned with. He is much in need of the training that comes from the effort to enlist ignorant men in good movements. At present he is too largely an impractical idealist.

For all these reasons, namely the larger co-operation which may be brought about among the leaders and schools of the colored race, the success of the work in Georgia, the training which DuBois may receive, it seems to me quite important that this co-operation of conferences should be undertaken.¹¹

The scheme would, if it had been successful, have had the same rationale as an earlier movement by Booker Washington and his white supporters to have DuBois attached to Tuskegee as

10. T.J. Jones to G.F. Peabody, 13th August, 1906, Jones' file, Hampton Institute Archives (Hereinafter: HAI.).

11. Ibid. For the failure of the direct co-operation between Atlanta and Tuskegee in the Committee of Twelve, see Broderick, op.cit., p.72.

a member of staff.¹² And it failed for the similar reason; that DuBois was not prepared to stifle criticism of the white South or, for that matter, Hampton's industrial philosophy. Indeed, as if to prove this point, only two months after his conversations with Jones, he attended the Hampton Summer School, and delivered a lecture on industrial education, roundly condemning Hampton as the 'center of this educational heresy'.¹³

Little had so far come of this particular initiative in co-operation, but in another field Jones had met with more success. Through the network of the Coloured Y.M.C.A., he had come across in November 1904, a young African of his own age who, he immediately recognised, was working on the same lines as himself. This man, J.E.K. Aggrey, after spending his first twenty three years in the Gold Coast had recently graduated from Livingstone College in North Carolina. Although a product of that classical education so contrary to the ideals of Hampton, he did not share DuBois' attitude to industrial education. The next week after their meeting, Jones invited him to visit and preach at Hampton,¹⁴ and there thus began in an informal way what would later become one of Jones' central activities: the promotion of Hampton's methods to Africans.

12. Broderick, op.cit., pp.65-66.

13. W.E.B. DuBois, An Address delivered before the Summer School, Hampton Institute, 1906, p.6, DuBois Papers, Park Johnson Archives, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

14. E.W. Smith, op.cit., p.70; also, for an account of Aggrey's first visit to Hampton, Southern Workman, xxxiv, No.1. January, 1905, p.60.

Given the background of Jones' fear of the Negro radical, it is not improbable even at this early stage that there was an element of competition with DuBois involved in presenting Hampton's constructive approach to Aggrey.¹⁵ But Aggrey's effect upon Jones must be regarded as incalculably more significant, for here was a Negro who combined high intelligence with the greatest interracial tact, and whose desire to aid his own common people was, apparently, his sole reason for further education. Moreover, there was none of the insistence on rights and talk of protest that was increasingly becoming characteristic of DuBois. For practical purposes, however, the connection with Aggrey was not to bear fruit until Dr. Jones extended his attention beyond the Southern States.

For the moment, Jones was working through Hampton's Research Department on the assumption that the correct presentation of the facts of Negro, White and Indian differences and abilities would go a long way towards easing race tensions. To this end his sociology courses in Hampton were designed to expose the commonest misconceptions about race; a proper appreciation of racial differences would, he thought, be a brake on unrealistic ambitions in Negroes and Indians, as much as it would enlist white altruism for the lower races. Even the objectives of the courses he taught were mapped out in strictly racial terms for the Hampton Bulletin:

15. Dr. Herbert Aptheker has mentioned to the present writer that there is substantial evidence of Aggrey's interest in and personal overtures to DuBois at this early period, contained in the W.E.B. DuBois' papers in Dr. Aptheker's possession.

PLATE III



A Sociology Class in Progress, Hampton Institute,
1900.
(Hampton Album, Museum of Modern Art.) New York.

The aim in the study of sociology is to gain an understanding of

- 1) Race differences as shown in physique, health, birthrate, and death rate, illiteracy, economic conditions, and crime.
- 2) Race differences, mental and moral, as shown in the efficiency of such organisations as the home, the church and the club.
- 3) The relation of these differences to the progress of the Negro and Indian races, and especially their bearing upon the social situation in the Southern States.
- 4) THE DANGER OF IMPULSIVE ACTION OR UNCONTROLLED EMOTION WHETHER IN RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL MATTERS.¹⁶
(capitals in the original)

During these early years at Hampton, Dr. Jones was slowly gathering together the elements of an educational theory appropriate to Negro people. Initially, as can be seen from the above, the educational theory flowed from a prior racial theory. Increasingly, however, as he began to reach a wider and more critical audience, the specifically racial element in the theory was dropped and there was substituted an appeal to Negro statistics. For if figures could show that in certain agreed essentials, (such as adequate housing, health, skilled work) Negroes were particularly backward, it could be suggested that their education should concern itself with such deficiencies, without raising the delicate question of whether the Negro qua Negro ought to have a special type of education. The premises were thus apparently shifted from

16. Report of the Principal, Hampton Institute, 1910, pp.31-32, in Hampton Institute, Library. For an exceedingly valuable photographic account of Hampton taken two years before Jones first went to teach there, see The Hampton Album (The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1966). See Plate III, for a social studies lesson in Hampton, 1900.

race differences to Negro needs as defined by comparative statistics. And there was now the possibility that with reliable figures Jones might give a respectability to Hampton and Tuskegee's race-oriented curriculum.

It was therefore quite in accord with this programme for Dr. Jones to take a temporary appointment with the United States Census Bureau for the 1910 Census. His assignment there was to direct the collection of Negro data, and it was hoped that he would be successful in getting 'the facts in regard to the negroes' where the Census Bureau believed it had so far failed.¹⁷ This was in itself significant, for it meant that Jones was already not only regarded as an authority on the Negro, but also had his confidence.

Certainly up to the end of 1910, his relations with DuBois had continued cordial; and despite the earlier abortive attempt at co-operation, DuBois was even now prepared strongly to exhort Jones to join his newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (N.A.A.C.P.).¹⁸ Both men had in this year left the relative obscurity of their teaching posts at Hampton and Atlanta for positions of greater publicity, with full time opportunity to develop their own increasingly divergent interests. As Research Director of the N.A.A.C.P., DuBois now had a platform provided by liberal white finance, and as

17. H.B. Frissell to G.F. Peabody, 10th November, 1909, Frissell letterbook, 1910, HAI.

18. T.J. Jones to H.B. Frissell, 1st October, 1910, Jones' file, HAI.

editor of its organ, The Crisis, a personal vehicle of radical protest.¹⁹ It was, however, as inconceivable that Jones could have played some part in the N.A.A.C.P. as it had been earlier for DuBois to throw himself into organising a better housing movement in rural Georgia. He explained to President Frissell of Hampton the dilemma of co-operating with DuBois on such terms:

Dr. DuBois has written urging me to join his association. I would like to help present the actual condition of the Negro race through that association, but I am afraid of an organisation mainly composed of people who do not know the situation and one that has for its chief purpose the presentation of the complaints of the colored people. Complaint, when it must be made, is more effectively made by those who believe and present the good and the progress.²⁰

A break between the two men had become by this time almost inevitable, and relations were finally severed in November, 1911, after what Jones described as 'a very unpleasant experience with DuBois'.²¹ What the particular issue was that convinced Jones of the 'impossibility of working with DuBois in any continued way' can only be conjectured - but then every issue of the Crisis in that first year of its publication contained some editorial or comment that Jones would have considered a disastrous setback to his own inter-racial philosophy.

19. Broderick, op.cit., p.92.

20. See reference 18. Two of the original published objectives of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1911 which might well have disturbed Jones were
a) 'To begin immediately a scientific study of Negro schools.'
b) 'To make foreign propaganda ...' quoted in H.A.Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, from 1619 to the Present, (Harvard, 1967), p.212.

21. T.J. Jones to H.B. Frissell, 25 November, 1911, Washington file, HAI.

It is just possible, however, that the dispute might have developed from Jones suggesting that the Census figures could be made to show an increased need for industrial training amongst Negroes. Much of the material that had been collected specifically on Negro education corroborated his own views on the various types of suitable Negro training, and in particular, he hinted to Booker Washington, that he was 'more deeply convinced than ever before of the educational value of industrial training'.²² Understandably, Washington was delighted at support for his programme coming from such an influential source, and assured the President of Hampton that the cause of Negro education would have received 'a black eye'²³ without Jones' invaluable work. When Washington added, 'We must all stand by him',²⁴ it becomes even more likely that Jones' work would have been resented by some sections of Negro opinion opposed to increased industrial training.

However this may have been, Jones had certainly been for some time moving closer to Tuskegee and to Washington personally. Two years earlier he had shown in regard to Tuskegee his firm conviction that constructive propaganda could be a solvent of race hatred, by having Washington set up a Department of Records and Research.²⁵ He had personally

22. T.J. Jones to B.T. Washington, 10th February, 1911, container 426, Washington papers, Library of Congress, (Washington, D.C.).

23. B.T. Washington to H.B. Frissell, 14th September, 1911, Washington file, HAI.

24. Ibid.

25. B.T. Washington to T.J. Jones, 8th June, 1908, container 374, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

selected and trained the Director of the Department, Monroe Work, in the techniques he had himself been using at Hampton, and had thus created another agency which would authoritatively promote the Tuskegee-Hampton way as the mode of Negro education. In 1911, he suggested that he might accompany Booker T. Washington on an educational tour of the West Indies that Washington had been pondering. In the process Jones was already voicing a desire to become an expert in Negro education beyond the limits of the U.S.A.²⁶

It was ten years before this desire 'to make comparative studies of colored people in other parts of the world'²⁷ came to fulfilment. But the move from the Census Bureau to the Federal Bureau of Education, as a specialist in the Education of Racial Groups, gave him the opportunity in 1912 greatly to extend his knowledge and influence over Negro education in the States. The Bureau had itself very little direct power over the educational developments in the various States, being at this time more of a centralised statistical office; the positions of greatest personal leverage in the allocation of educational funds for the South lay with the officers of the Philanthropic Foundations. In practice, however, even these had comparatively little room for manoeuvre, since it was implicit policy that educational moneys be appropriated in ways that did not conflict with Southern white

26. See reference 22.

27. Ibid.

governments.²⁸ The consequence was that much philanthropic money flowed into the promotion of low level industrial training of the Tuskegee nature, and more often than not, Washington played the role of consultant or distributor of such aid.²⁹ Something of this tendency to channel philanthropic aid through Washington, as the interpreter of what was educationally feasible in the South, is shown clearly in his negotiations with the recently founded Phelps-Stokes Fund.³⁰ They would lead shortly to a combination of the Phelps-Stokes Fund with Dr. Jones and the Bureau of Education in a nation wide survey of Negro education.

After the incorporation of this Fund in 1910, the first official move of the Secretary to the Trustees, Anson Phelps Stokes, was a letter to Booker Washington inquiring what use he could suggest for five or ten thousand dollars.³¹

Washington was in no doubt that such a sum could be instrumental

28. The General Education Board, for example, summed up its own and other philanthropic foundations' terms for improving education in the South: 'More flexible than government bureaus, less restricted in their choice of agents and advisers, more continuous in policy, these organisations have for years devoted themselves to furthering educational plans which represent the consensus of the best judgement available'; what this consensus amounted to, as far as Negro education was concerned, was a decision principally to support Tuskegee and Hampton. Between 1902 and 1914, Hampton had received 138,000 dollars; Tuskegee 135,483; while Atlanta was offered 8,000, The General Education Board: An Account of its Activities, 1902-1914 (New York, 1915), pp.8, 9, 203, 209.

29. Meier, op.cit., p.114.

30. For a very valuable biographical sketch of Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes whose will created the Fund, see T.J. Jones, Educational Adaptations: Report of Ten Years' Work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1910-1920 (Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York), pp.7-22. For the essential background to the Phelps-Stokes Fund, see T.J. Jones, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States (Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1916, No.38, Washington, D.C. 1917), pp.xi-xiv.

31. B.T. Washington to Anson Phelps Stokes, 6th May, 1911, con. 440, BTW Papers, Library of Congress. (hereinafter, BTW. LC.).

in accomplishing what he had long regarded as a necessity: discriminating the worthy from the unworthy small denominational Negro schools.³² This would require a survey of the entire field, and it would then be possible to start the process of 'killing out' the poorer schools and encouraging those with reasonable backing.³³ No doubt an important consideration with Washington was the possibility of exposing the numerous schools which had jumped on to the industrial bandwagon. It was a measure of Tuskegee's success that, by then, the very addition of the name 'industrial' to a struggling school could make Northern appeals more lucrative. Washington outlined his general intention to Robert Park,³⁴ the man he hoped would direct this unpopular survey:

As you know, there is nothing more needed in the South than to state exactly to the public what these schools are doing, especially the supposed industrial schools. A lot of them are doing fake work, others are trying to do good work but do not know how. We want to get the truth to help the schools and for the sake of the public.³⁵ Of course such a report will create a great stir.

When the decision had been reached to survey all the Negro schools in the South, including high schools, colleges and universities, the scheme came to the attention of Dr. Jones. It naturally seemed the ideal opportunity to substantiate and expound the growing faith he held in the merits of industrial education. Consequently, after much persuasion,

32. Ibid.

33. B.T. Washington to A. Phelps Stokes, 15th May, 1911, con. 440, BTW. LC.

34. Dr. Robert Park had achieved national status as the Secretary of the Congo Reform Association (a few years earlier); see further Chapter I reference 46.

35. B.T. Washington to R.E. Park, 6th October, 1912, con. 61, BTW. LC.

he was able to show Anson Phelps Stokes the advantage of such a survey being carried out under his own direction and with the co-operation of the Bureau of Education and the Phelps-Stokes Fund.³⁶

Any educational report whose aim is to expose educational frauds and indicate paradigms can count on controversy; but there were additional factors in reporting on Negro education in the Southern States that might have suggested a more objective assessor than Thomas Jesse Jones. In a situation where the majority of the facilities for Negro College, Secondary and Teacher Training courses in the South were supported by funds from the North,³⁷ Jones' survey would inevitably appear as a guide to absentee philanthropists on where to place their educational investments.

There was a further large danger in this recommending of suitable Southern schools to Northern philanthropy: that Jones would possibly be unable to avoid following the traditional canon of philanthropic funds - 'Unto him who hath more shall be given'. It might be difficult in this delicate task of differentiating successful from unsuccessful schools to do sufficient justice to schools whose educational standards, management, and teachers were second-rate through perpetual lack of adequate finance. Such schools would more

36. T.J. Jones to H.B. Frissell, 9th November, 1912, Jones' file, HAI; Washington himself was in no doubt that Park was 'a broader man' and would give a 'more comprehensive study than a professional statistician would be likely to give us'. (B.T. Washington to A. Phelps Stokes, 9th November, 1912, con. 464. BTW. LC.)

37. T.J. Jones, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States (Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1916, No.38), p.8.



often than not be the little institutions of coloured denominations or struggling independent Negro schools; in all likelihood they would have no white staff. It would be a temptation on a static assessment of their value to dismiss them as bad propositions for philanthropy.

There would be obstacles too in reporting on effective industrial education. For, with good industrial education considerably more costly than the traditional academic curriculum, it might be difficult to determine whether a school with inadequate industrial emphasis was in this state through poverty or preference for academic work. But most difficult of all, and indeed the test of Dr. Jones' impartiality, would be his treatment of the Negro liberal arts colleges.³⁸ Founded and taught by Northerners in the flush of enthusiasm for equal Negro rights after the Civil War, they had barely weathered the subsequent period of Southern demand for industrial education, and now in the philanthropic age their tenaciously held classical curricula commanded very little support.³⁹ Almost their only asset was their alumnus and protector, W.E.B. DuBois. Now they would be individually analysed by a man firmly committed to the opposite of everything they had stubbornly clung to. They had not fared well in the era of informal philanthropy, when Washington had held sway over the distribution of aid; it

38. It should be noted that most of the 'liberal arts' colleges had manual and industrial wings attached; and that these wings were not more prominent at the time of Jones' survey was due to an earlier philanthropic decision (of the Slater Board) to concentrate half its appropriations on Tuskegee and Hampton. For the whole subject, see Meier, op.cit., pp.85-99.

39. On the hand to mouth financing of DuBois' Atlanta University Publications, see Broderick, op.cit., pp.56-57.

seemed doubtful if they would do any better once Jones had professionalised philanthropic giving under the aegis of the Bureau of Education.

In fact, it is unthinkable that any man would have been chosen for this survey in 1913 whose views did not coincide with the reigning Hampton—Tuskegee philosophy of special Negro education. It was known that Jones had prejudged the issue between the industrial and literary wings of education: his function would therefore be to judge all Negro schools by what were widely thought their own special criteria, and set his judgements as far as possible within the framework of statistics.

The results of his subsequent three years of visiting and compiling was the most impressively produced two volume report, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States.⁴⁰ It claimed for itself a constructive lack of bias; all that had been aimed at throughout was 'to determine the real educational needs of the people and the extent to which the school work has been adapted to these needs'.⁴¹ Yet for all the pages of statistics, graphs of rural population and production, and details of income and endowment, the two volumes were in fact an extended exercise in special pleading, a restatement of Armstrong's conviction that 'the temporal

40. T.J. Jones, see reference 37, but note that there were two volumes, Bulletin No.38 and No.39. (hereinafter, Bulletin No.38 and Bulletin No.39.).

41. Bulletin No. 39, p.2; also Bulletin No.38, p.xii, 'The main purpose was to supply through an impartial investigation a body of fact which could be available to all interested, showing the status of Negro education'.

salvation of the colored race for some time to come is to be won out of the ground'.⁴² The assumptions upon which the whole investigation rested were summed up in an address which Jones delivered to the National Education Association in the year he began the survey. They may be quoted at length as the most fitting preface to an assessment of his Negro Education.

The most impressive commencement exercise that I have ever witnessed was that of a farmer boy at Tuskegee last May. He stood upon the platform of the beautiful church surrounded by the common tools and the common animals and common foods without which we could not live. There were the stove, the bed, and the table, the plow, the spade and the hoe; the saw, the hammer and the plane, the horse, the cow and the pig. Surrounded by these evidences of a democratic education, he stood erect, a splendid specimen of young manhood entirely unconscious of his uniform, the simple blue overalls of a farmer. He explained in dignified clear English a scientific chart showing exactly how to obtain the greatest possible returns from an acre of soil and still leave that soil ready for other crops. It was all most interesting and impressive, but to me the climax of his splendid efforts came when quite unconsciously he lifted from the platform a box containing what he described to be the farmer's best ally. His simple words were eloquent with meaning as he showed that out of that box of barnyard manure came prosperity and comforts, and pleasures and education and religion to the man who is democratic enough to recognise its value.⁴³

Quite apart from the confusion of democracy with rural simplicity in this passage - the traditional American Jeffersonian approach - it set the tone for one of the

-
42. Quoted in Bulletin No.38, p.104. The belief was central to B.T. Washington's anti-urban philosophy: 'How many times I wished then, and have often wished since, that by some power of magic I might remove the great bulk of these people into the country districts and plant them upon the soil, upon the solid and never deceptive foundation of Mother Nature', Up From Slavery (Nelson Edition), p.116.
43. T.J. Jones, 'The High School and Democracy', an address before the National Education Association at Salt Lake City, 1913, copy in HAI.

priorities of the Education Report: the place of rural education in Negro life. A determined effort was made in the chapter on Rural Education to demonstrate that it was not prejudice but unchallengeable statistical facts that made rural education so essential to the Negro. If the 1910 Census showed that 80% of Southern Negroes lived in country districts, then it followed that agricultural education must be the mainstay of the curriculum.⁴⁴

This type of static educational prescription (it would reappear a decade later in Africa⁴⁵) took little account either of the urbanisation process, or the political conditions of rural life for Negroes. Rather, the movement to the towns was only noticed to be dismissed as a 'delusion'⁴⁶ while reports of white violence and higher lynching rates in rural areas had been, Jones suggested, exaggerated out of proportion.⁴⁷

To counteract the general indifference of the Negro towards rural studies it was only necessary to correct their conviction that literary studies made for prosperity, and to use the entire school system to prove that the 'most substantial gains made by the race are in the rural communities'.⁴⁸ Again the 1910 Census provided what Jones thought

44. Bulletin No.38, p.99.

45. See Chapter VII, text to reference 131.

46. Bulletin No.38, p.99.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

decisive evidence of the rural Negro's advantage: more Negroes owned farms and were tenant farmers in 1910 than in 1900. But why this should have been selected as a more substantial gain than the voting rights and freedom from lynching in any northern city, Jones did not explain. With sublime faith in the power of the school to change the pattern of social and economic forces which were driving rural Negroes to the North, he pleaded principally for a curricular reform:

The emphatic conclusion of this study is therefore that the first step in rural education should be the enthusiastic advocacy of the theory and practice of gardening, for every colored pupil.⁴⁹

Not surprisingly, in the volume of individual school assessments and recommendations, over fifty per cent of the schools visited received as one of their recommendations, 'that the theory and practice of gardening should be included as part of the regular course'.⁵⁰ Not even DuBois' old teaching college at Atlanta was exempt; and indeed it came perilously close to provocation to accuse certain 'educational leaders of the colored people'⁵¹ of being indifferent to agricultural progress, and then to suggest that Atlanta University make better use of its garden, hennery, and dairy herd.⁵² DuBois rose to the challenge. When he came to assess this part of Jones' report, he dismissed, in a highly critical article, most of the arguments for rural studies as 'propaganda' or

49. Ibid., p.97.

50. Bulletin No.39, passim.

51. Bulletin No.38, p.99.

52. Bulletin No.39, p.215.

untruth,⁵³ and on the aspect of anti-urbanisation in Jones' case, he commented: 'The advance of the cities has been greatest for all people, white and colored, and for any colored man to take his family to the country districts of South Georgia in order to grow and develop and secure an education and uplift would be idiotic.'⁵⁴

It must be reiterated that Jones in pressing for the primacy of rural needs was entirely representative of policy among the great philanthropic foundations in the South. Without exception their efforts were centred on rural betterment; the General Education Board had, in the general public apathy over rural schools, appointed white State supervisors through the State Departments of Education. Their aim was, beyond the general stimulus of the local community, to work for curriculum reform, 'especially along industrial and domestic lines'.⁵⁵ Similarly at the lower, county level the Jeanes Fund supported a devoted corps of travelling women teachers to encourage interest in simple rural industries.⁵⁶ And the Rosenwald Fund concentrated on rural school buildings.⁵⁷ Jones through the Phelps-Stokes Fund

53. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Negro Education', Crisis, xv, No.4, Feb. 1918, p.177.

54. Ibid.

55. The General Education Board 1902-1914. p.195. The General Education Board believed 'that it is especially the rural school that is of interest to the Southern Negro' (ibid., p.193). DuBois' commentary on the G.E.B. and their Southern education priorities is pertinent: 'It is this board that is spending more money today in helping Negroes learn how to can vegetables than in helping them to go through college'. (W.E.B. DuBois, see reference 53.)

56. L.G.E. Jones, The Jeanes Teacher in the United States: 1908-1933, an account of twenty five years experience in the supervision of Negro rural schools. (Chapel Hill, 1937), passim.

57. Bulletin No.38, pp.166-167.

was merely binding into a single educational theory their various rural preferences.⁵⁸

Nor was there anything particularly novel in Jones' advocacy of industrial training as a Negro priority. What novelty there was consisted in 'proving' the need for industrial training from the Census figures, thus providing a more reputable basis for such courses than the traditional 'industry is good for the Negro' approach. But Jones' methodology at this point broke down very critically; figures were adduced from the Census to show the distribution of Negroes in the South by trades; no attempt was made to differentiate skilled from unskilled workers, nor were any comparative figures of white workers offered; it was simply claimed as obviously important from the tables that the coloured people 'grasp every opportunity for industrial training'.⁵⁹ The whole argument was vitiated by Jones' decision to avoid anything controversial - in this case the role of the white labour unions in preventing Negro access to skilled trade training.⁶⁰

58. Dr. Jones became Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1913.

59. Bulletin No.38, pp.84-85.

60. For W.E.B. DuBois on 'the decadent trades' taught by the majority of Negro Industrial schools, see 'Negro Education', *Crisis*, xv, No.4, Feb. 1918, p.175; the correctness of DuBois' criticism has had ample confirmation in the work of Meier, op.cit., p.93; G. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944), p.899: 'In spite of all the talk about it, no effective industrial training was ever given the Negroes in the Southern public schools, except training for cooking and menial service' (emphasis in original); cf. also, E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, (New York, 1957, revised edit.), pp.461-462.

PLATE IV



Military uniform for Hampton students, 1900.
(Hampton Album, Museum of Modern Art, N.Y.)

The economic value of industrial work was, however, only a small part of the benefits credited to the Hampton-Tuskegee conception of industry. Most important to any industrial proposals for Negro education were the famous character-forming qualities of trade training. Not that the morality of industry was not urged for white children also at this period, but it was thought particularly apposite to the allegedly more unruly and emotional nature of Negro peoples. It first found general currency in Armstrong's attempts to exterminate the old slave natures of his freedmen,⁶¹ and after some time found its way into educational prescriptions for the Negroes of Africa.

There was a yet broader interpretation of industrial training's value than this. Both Armstrong and Jones believed that Hampton-Tuskegee type industrial schools could eliminate the distinction between academic and vocational studies. In Jones' phrase, 'the underlying principle of these schools is the adaptation of educational activities, whether industrial or literary, to the needs of the pupil and the community'.⁶² What this educational slogan concealed was for the aspiring Negro a basically reactionary principle: the educational diet was to be limited and defined by the most pressing needs of their backward rural communities. 'Needs' had already been defined for predominantly Negro

61. Jones reproduced several of Armstrong's axioms on the uplifting value of labour in Bulletin No.38, pp.81-82, the pithiest of which was 'Morality and Industry generally go together'. It was a direct consequence of his belief that emotion and sloth had to be trained out, that military uniforms were worn in Hampton and Tuskegee; see Plate IV.

62. Bulletin No.38, p.81.

communities by Jones as sanitation, health training, improved housing and increased industrial and agricultural skills. On his utilitarian calculus, what was needed in these spheres was 'real' and 'democratic', and what did not contribute directly to remedying such communal backwardness was 'artificial' and 'selfish'. Latin and foreign languages therefore were by definition not needed in the schools that served the small rural communities.⁶³ Although the point was clothed in the quasi-sociological language of 'adaptation' and 'community-consciousness', it was the lineal successor of Booker Washington ridiculing the Negro boy reading a French grammar in a broken down shack.⁶⁴ 'Adaptation of education to the needs of the community' was thus a principle radically to differentiate Negro education from white, and it would have assured, in its application, that the school population did not advance beyond the pace of their own community.

It was mentioned earlier that Jones' exclusive experience of teaching in a white dominated Negro institution might not have been the best introduction to understanding the aspirations of the small, independent Negro schools. He had shown little sympathy with 'Negro independence' generally, and now suddenly the fate of a large number of independent schools lay in his hands. Jones could have no quarrel with independent schools as such, for Tuskegee and Hampton came into this category. These, however, were large nationally

63. For a curious description of the ideal Latin teacher (as Jones thought), see Appendix I.

64. W.E.B. DuBois, Souls of Black Folk (London edit. 1905), p.43. B.T. Washington, Up From Slavery, p.154.

known corporations with strict scrutiny from their boards of Trustees, and, as in the case of Atlanta and Fisk also, white representation on the boards was considerable. What Jones did question was the value of the little schools at the lowest level of education, where supervision was nominal if it existed at all. And he could only recommend that, if they could not be run down, they should be transferred as soon as possible to private or public educational boards, and that 'the founding of new independent schools should be vigorously discouraged'.⁶⁵

Such advice might be considered appropriate in a situation where local or state authorities desired actively to re-organise the educational system, but no such situation obtained in the Southern States. Indeed the very existence of the independent schools was a pointer to the apathy and the hostility of the white authorities.

When attention is paid to the individual reports on these independent schools, contained in the second volume of Negro Education, Jones' strategy for the gradual 'killing out' of poorer schools becomes more evident.⁶⁶ It usually consisted of a short factual survey with an appropriate recommendation for the benefit of potential donors:

Holmes Industrial Institute

Principal: B.R. Holmes.

A small, disorderly school doing five grades of elementary work. It was founded five years ago by the principal and has a nominal board of trustees. It is supported by private subscriptions.

65. Bulletin No.38, pp.126-127.

66. There was a section on the independent schools in each state at the end of every chapter; it was prefaced by some general warning that such schools were 'doubtful ventures for outside philanthropy', e.g., Bulletin No.39, p.254.

Attendance. - Reported enrollment, 250. There were 40 pupils present on the day of visit.

Teachers. - Total, 4; all colored: male 3, female 1.

Financial. - There were no financial records except memoranda. The school was supported by donations amounting to \$1,200 a year...

Plant. - Estimated value, \$2,000. Consists of one very poor frame building unceiled. The windows were broken and the place very dirty. The children were sitting on boards and boxes. A dilapidated printing press covered with dust constituted the industrial equipment.

Recommendations. - In view of the condition and management of this school it cannot be recommended as worthy of aid.

Date of visit. - January, 1915.⁶⁷

Of the sixty small independent schools included in the Report, twenty seven were said to be not needed or not to be worthy of any aid; on five, no favourable recommendation could be made; eight did not merit anything beyond local donations, and must not look further afield; nine should be taken over by the county as soon as possible; with some others, benefactors were advised to channel their aid through the white county officials; and three schools only should continue unchanged.⁶⁸

What was objectionable in this method of improving Negro education was publicising the findings on a national scale. These were not confidential reports for the use of local school supervisors, but were published in an edition of 12,500 of each volume and circulated with the greatest care 'to those who would make the largest use of them'.⁶⁹ With independent schools at least, the priority use was the protection of the northern benefactors, for the Reports had

67. Ibid., p.256.

68. Bulletin No.39, passim.

69. T.J. Jones, Educational Adaptations, p.31.

not been concerned to analyse the social and political forces that had spawned such deprived institutions. A final "Who's Who" of Negro education had been compiled,⁷⁰ and however a school might subsequently attempt to make improvements and expand its usefulness, it stood little chance of outside support once it had gained Jones' disapproval.⁷¹ Such signal distrust of local Negro initiative in education was not a good augury for the time when Jones would transfer his attentions to African education, and be faced with the multiplying pockets of independence in the African bush schools.⁷²

His genuinely most delicate task, after disposing of the independent schools, were the Negro colleges of the traditional type. There was certainly a case for pointing out that many Negro 'colleges' and 'universities' did not deserve their classification, even on the most liberal definition of college status.⁷³ Applying therefore certain national standard requirements for college work, Jones was able to show that only three institutions, Fisk and Howard Universities, and Meharry Medical College, merited their names.⁷⁴ A second group of fifteen institutions which

70. Ibid., p.27.

71. Both DuBois and Dr. Carter G. Woodson believed (in Woodson's words) that 'this report worked a gross injustice to those schools founded and supported by enterprising Negroes themselves', in C.G. Woodson and C.H. Wesley, The Negro in Our History (Washington, 1922; this edit. 1931), p.505.

72. See Chapter 4 refs. 74-77.

73. 'Latta University' was the most dramatic fraud exposed by Dr. Jones; the prospectus mentioned twenty three buildings on the campus, but no institution of any sort was found to exist, Bulletin No.39, p.459.

74. Bulletin No.38, pp.54-67.

claimed 'Secondary and College courses' demonstrably contained 90% secondary students; while a further group of fifteen advertising 'college subjects' had clearly in Jones' view neither the staff nor the equipment necessary.⁷⁵ This was so far firm, if unpopular ground.

But the report soon abandoned its comparative objectivity to introduce Jones' notion of appropriateness in Negro colleges. There was strong general condemnation of Negro student aspirations, and in particular 'their almost fatalistic belief not only in the powers of the college, but in the Latin and Greek features of the course'.⁷⁶ And yet there was no mention of the Latin requirements of the leading northern colleges for which some of the Negro students were preparing.⁷⁷ True to the tone that Jones had developed earlier, the argument against the traditional college courses, was carried on more in terms of morality (the selfishness of Negro students in seeking personal advance at the expense of their own communities) than of the socio-economic pressures that made for conformity with the white educational system. Clarity was not furthered certainly by making an artificial and outworn distinction between college studies and real life.

The majority of them (Negro colleges) seem to have more interest in the traditional forms of education than in adaptation to the needs of their pupils and their community. Ingenuously some of their leaders have been urging secondary schools to prepare their pupils for college rather than for life.⁷⁸

75. Ibid., p.60.

76. Ibid., p.56.

77. W.E.B. DuBois, Crisis, xx, No.3, July 1920, p.120, commented that 'for Negro ... schools voluntarily and alone to cut themselves off from the educational system of the land as established by the white universities, is suicide'.

78. Bulletin, No.38, p.56.

Much of this would have little significance if Jones had simply been writing another of the many Dewey-influenced reinterpretations of American schooling, but enough has been said already to show the impossibility of any such purely educational survey of Negro education. Too many political forces in the American South wished confirmation of their prejudices against Negro colleges for Jones not to have realised the political consequences of his strictures. And it is highly likely that he must have realised equally well his power to reduce Northern philanthropy even further by the slightest reluctance to approve Negro college work. For this reason, crucial importance attached not so much to his discussion of principles but to the volume of descriptions and recommendations for specific colleges.

Here, in this exceedingly delicate discrimination between the worthy and the unworthy, Jones employed a variety of financial recommendations. These ranged from the encouragement of liberal support to the strongest disapproval of any donations at all. Thus Calhoun School and Penn School, which Jones believed had most ideally adapted their activities to the simple needs of the community, attracted the remarks that 'the financial aid necessary' and 'ample funds' be provided to continue their work;⁷⁹ while, at the other extreme, it has been noted that the majority of the independent schools were 'not worthy of aid'.⁸⁰

No university or college received any such outright

79. Bulletin No.39, pp.60, 485.

80. See reference 67.

general call for donations as had Calhoun and Penn schools. Some finance was urged for Atlanta, but specifically for strengthening their manual department, and Fisk for their training institute and social service studies; Howard, in a slate of recommendations which included the need for the theory and practice of gardening, should receive support specifically for medical work.⁸¹ But the remainder of the fifteen Negro institutions doing secondary and college work gained no mention of any need for aid. Not that patrons were positively discouraged from contributing to their work, but the general tone of Jones' recommendations was scarcely such as to inspire confidence. Although Lincoln University was actually in a northern state, the criticisms it attracted from Dr. Jones were representative:

- Recommendations:- That in view of the isolation of the institution from contact with the colored population of the country, the teachers become better acquainted with the actual conditions and needs of the people by frequent visits to colored schools in the South.
2. That in the effort to raise the standards of admission to college special care be exercised that there shall be no neglect of secondary subjects.
 3. That the time given to foreign languages be not allowed to limit the time for courses in economics, sociology, teacher-training, hygiene and sanitation.
 4. That rural economics, including the theory and practice of gardening, be made a part of the regular course for college and theological students.
 5. That the dormitory and dining room be so supervised as to develop sound ideas of home life.⁸²

What effect the Report had in changing college emphasis to the values pioneered at Tuskegee and Hampton is much less

81. Bulletin No.39, pp.215, 538, 154.

82. Bulletin No.39, p.691. Some increased financial support was urged for Bishop College, Texas, which made it something of an exception; it did, however, strongly adhere to Jones' educational preferences with its 'commendable emphasis on science', *ibid.*, p.581.

easily gauged. Certainly in the three years of the visits and preparations, Jones was put in a position of quite extraordinary influence over Negro school and college presidents, who realised the long-term importance of a favourable comment in print. DuBois went as far as to allege that Jones had actually ordered some presidents to resign if they wished their schools to receive approval.⁸³ What substance if any there was in this allegation is less important than the fact that DuBois was prepared to make it quite openly in a leading Crisis article. And what little evidence does exist showed a readiness in some quarters to fall in with Jones' curricular preferences; it can hardly have been coincidence that brought the following letter from the President of Morehouse College, one of the Atlanta group, just six months before the publication of Jones' report:

You may be interested to know that the following announcement was made at our commencement exercises on Wednesday of this week:

"The College has put at the disposal of seven college men in the agricultural class, a horse, a wagon, plow, garden tools, hand-spray and insecticide, garden seeds and plants to be used in aiding the people of the community with their gardens."⁸⁴

This letter of John Hope, President of Morehouse College, well expressed the tendency of the whole Report, namely, the extension of Tuskegee-Hampton education by the threat of

83. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Thomas Jesse Jones', Crisis, xlii, No.6, p.254. What DuBois resented most was the quasi-dictatorial position of one man over the fortunes of many institutions for Negroes. An exchange of correspondence between Jones and Washington reveals something of what DuBois and Woodson suspected but could not prove. See Appendix II.

84. John Hope to T.J. Jones, 1st June 1916, John Hope Papers, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

philanthropic displeasure. The Tuskegeeism recommended in its pages had nothing of the independent spirit that E.W. Blyden and Duse Mohammed Ali had so admired:⁸⁵ it was become now, through Jones' work, synonymous with the spirit of deference, the very mode and form of an education scientifically proved to suit the Negro people. This form of Tuskegeeism would, as DuBois saw, create a breed of philanthropists' Negroes, and stifle the freedom for which the Negro college had stood:

There follows easily the habit of having no patience with the man who does not agree with the decisions of such boards. The Negro who comes with his hat in his hand and flatters and cajoles the philanthropist - that Negro gets money. If these foundations raise, as they do in this report, the cry of fraud they have themselves to thank. They more than any other agency have encouraged that kind of person. On the other hand, the Negro who shows the slightest independence of thought or character is apt to be read out of all possible influence not only by the white South but by the philanthropic North.⁸⁶

There were, however, few, apart from some Negro college presidents, to heed what DuBois thought the 'sinister danger' of Jones' Report in the volume of praise at its publication.⁸⁷ For he had successfully evolved a programme for educating the Negro that met with the approbation of Northern philanthropy and the white South. Indeed newspapers in the South went so

85. See chapter I, references 57, 60, 61.

86. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Negro Education', Crisis, xv, No.4, February 1918, p. 178.

87. Ibid. Curiously enough, DuBois had a sympathiser in an unusual quarter; G.F. Peabody, millionaire philanthropist, wrote Dr. Dillard of the Jeanes Fund over Jones' special education programme for Negroes, 'I think one of the reasons that DuBois and his coterie feel so strongly and have as much sympathy as they gain respecting their view of Dr. Jones is because of his insistence upon a standard which more or less unconsciously he does not and could not apply to whites'. (26th October, 1921, Peabody Papers, box 15, Library of Congress.)

far as to hail the Report as testimony that the Federal Bureau would limit educational activity to elementary, agricultural and industrial lines.⁸⁸ And in this they could not well be blamed, for what concessions had been made in the Report to the higher education of Negroes had been all but swamped by Jones' enthusiasm for industrial and agricultural education, and his general adaptation of standards to Negro needs. He had not perhaps managed to please all three Southern communities all of the time, but he had certainly given Washington's formula a national currency. It was now in this new, more professionalised guise ready to be carried by Dr. Jones to Negroes further afield.

The publication of the Negro Education Report had marked the institutionalisation of Tuskegee philosophy for the training of Negroes within America. There had however during the period when Jones had been gradually elevated into the position of the expert on Negro education,⁸⁹ been a parallel movement in Britain which had similarly been reaching a consensus on the relevance of Tuskegee for their purposes. These were the British missionary societies and colonial educationists, and particularly those concerned with the African field. Although the parallel cannot be pressed too

88. Tuskegee Student, xxix, No.20, 1917, p.1. It is of some importance also that Jones' purpose could be so interpreted by a number of Negro educators that a Bureau of Education Conference had to be held in August 1917 to reassure them that the Report did not signify the end of the Negro College, *ibid*.

89. C.G. Woodson, *op.cit.*, p.506, described his pre-eminence rather differently as 'the almoner of the despised group'.

closely, they had experienced disillusionment with the value of literary education for backward people, equivalent to the post-Reconstruction period in the American South. Literary education in India for instance was already held to have been disastrously inappropriate.⁹⁰ A new model was being sought for Africa.

The notion that Tuskegee might hold the secret to colonial and mission education in Africa seems to have occurred to several influential British educationists in the early years of the twentieth century, and may well have been associated with the visit of Booker Washington to England in July 1899, and the publicity given later to his Up From Slavery.⁹¹ It is not at any rate insignificant that one of the first areas the idea was actively canvassed was Southern Rhodesia. The example from which Rhodesia might best learn, urged its first Inspector of Schools, was not the literary education of Cape Colony given the native by 'misguided enthusiasts who believed that black men and white were equal',⁹² but rather of the Southern States. There at least, Negroes, after a period of seeking the illusory ideal of book learning, had realised their mistakes; and the dangers of such

90. Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life: Report of Commission III (World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910), pp. 34-35. For a valuable account of how one missionary society (The Church Missionary Society) had gradually come to accept the importance of industrial education towards the end of the 19th century, see R. Maconachie, 'On the Education of Native Races (C.M.S.)' in Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Volume 14, XXVI, cmd. 2379, 1905, pp. 209-249.

91. B.T. Washington, Up From Slavery, (first published, New York, 1901; "Nelson" Edition), p. 339.

92. H.E.D. Hammond, 'The System of Education in Southern Rhodesia (1890-1901): Its Origin and Development', in Special Reports on Educational Subjects, vol. 13, xxiv, cmd. 2378, 1905, pp. 164-166.

deceptive courses had been largely avoided by the more recent Hampton emphasis.

In Britain itself, the first reputable approval for differentiating the education of Negro people came from the Board of Education's brilliant comparativist, and Director of Special Inquiries, Michael Sadler. His Education of the Coloured Race,⁹³ published in 1902 may also have been inspired in part by direct contact with Washington - they had been in correspondence the previous year - but in any case it began his long involvement with the value of Tuskegee and Hampton beyond the limits of the U.S.A. And to a very large extent the history of colonial and mission education policy in Africa over the next thirty years was a series of variations and developments of Sadler's early theme:

The work which is going forward in the industrial and agricultural training schools for the coloured race in the United States, is one of great significance. Lessons can be learned from it which are of value for those engaged in education in parts of the British Empire; for example, in West Africa and the West Indies, where there are large black populations.⁹⁴

The ingredients of Tuskegee's organisation that would subsequently appeal to many hundreds of missionaries from Africa had already, most of them, been underlined: an educational formula to fight urbanisation; a school life that could compensate for a backward home; and 'the kind of practical instruction which the coloured people would specially need'.⁹⁵ (emphasis in original.)

93. Michael Sadler, The Education of the Coloured Race (Nov. 1901), pp.xxix, 1902. Sadler had originally written Washington 23rd Sept. 1901 for information about his school (box 209, BTW.LC.), and he actually visited at least Hampton in summer 1902.

94. Ibid., p.559.

95. Ibid., p.544.

The one element that Sadler did not particularly stress was Tuskegee and Hampton's political and economic value to a white dominated society, and their implicit rejection of competition in the higher skills and professions. The omission would be remedied by Sir Harry Johnston, one of Africa's foremost authorities and publicists of the day. The lavishly illustrated results of his visit to the U.S.A. in 1908, The Negro in the New World, made a striking advertisement for the usefulness of Hampton and Tuskegee, and further denigrated the struggling Negro colleges.⁹⁶ No less than forty six pages were needed adequately to describe the advantages of the Hampton-Tuskegee method, while Lincoln University, Berea College and Wilberforce University were dismissed in half a page of ridicule for their 'useless classics', 'old fashioned, incorrect history' and their 'Old Testament and seventeenth-century theology'.⁹⁷ Johnston expanded a little on the point that Sadler had missed:

These colleges and universities are well enough; ... but they merely train clergymen, lawyers, politicians, petty officials, school masters ... third-rate writers, a few geniuses ... but they don't solve the tremendous need of the United States for field-hands - INTELLIGENT field-hands; they don't turn out cooks - and cooks, as Booker Washington points out ... are more necessary than preachers. They don't send out into Twentieth-Century-America, machinists, inexpensive electricians, plumbers builders, bricklayers, carpenters, cabinetmakers, gardeners, stockmen, sawyers, hydraulic engineers, painters, tailors, dressmakers, bootmakers, metal-workers and laundry hands.⁹⁸

96. Sir Harry H. Johnston, The Negro in the New World. (London, 1911).

97. Ibid., p.386.

98. Ibid., p.403. In exchange for this welcome publicity, Washington reviewed Johnston's book in the Journal of the African Society, x, 1910-11, p.178.

In Africa, Tuskegee was coming thus to stand for a number of different approaches to education and political development, but the two main schools of thought, at least among the whites, had made themselves clear: Tuskegeeism for the White Man's country, designed to block the political growth of Africans while increasing their value to the economy: and Tuskegeeism for black Africa, soon to be associated with Indirect Rule doctrines of keeping the African true to his own best nature. The former had been seen already in Rhodesia, and was re-echoed for South Africa by Dudley Kidd's Kafir Socialism.⁹⁹ While the other view found early support from the British Resident in Ibadan, Nigeria: the Yoruba people, he explained, might yet be saved from the perils of denationalisation by having a Tuskegee set down in their midst; its teachers would be sent to the mother institute for three years' training, and would return to implement a completely Africanised curriculum; the medium of instruction would be Yoruba and all textbooks would be converted to that language.¹⁰⁰

For the first ten years of the century, publicity for Tuskegee was still the result of scattered individual enthusiasms, but in 1910, at the first World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, came the beginnings of institutionalised recognition. Commission III, at that historic

99. Dudley Kidd, Kafir Socialism, and the Dawn of Individualism: an introduction to the Study of the Native Problem. (London, 1908), p.265.

100. C.H. Elgee, Memorandum on the System of Negro Education in the United States of America, with a Study of its practical application to our West African Possessions, Nov. 1905, box 992, BTW.LC. For another interesting early West African contact with the States, see Felice Carter, Education in Uganda, 1894-1945 (Ph.D. Thesis, London University, 1967), pp.133/4.

gathering, was given the brief to determine the form of education that might accompany 'the evangelisation of the world in this generation';¹⁰¹ and continent by continent the past errors were assessed and new recommendations given out. For this, expert evidence was culled from all over the world, and included not only a prominent place for Professor Michael Sadler as a member of the Commission, but also a submission from Thomas Jesse Jones. But whatever the specific source, the methods of Hampton and Tuskegee received the strongest possible approbation, and especially, although not exclusively, for Africa. For in the eyes of the Commission, while industrial education was a general recommendation for the mission field, its application to Africa was 'especially urgent'.¹⁰² The judgements of the Commission on Africa were thus mainly concerned to correct the absence of industrial and agricultural instruction; and in no less than three conspicuous places, missions were reminded that 'the value of industrial and agricultural training for the negro race is abundantly proved by the experience of the Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia, and the Normal and Industrial School at Tuskegee, Alabama'.¹⁰³

Even if the two schools had gained an important place in the formal policy document, the Commission had been aware that it would require personal study tours to the Southern

101. This was the great call of the 1910 Conference.

102. See reference 90, p.302. The Commission decided that while in Africa industrial training was 'especially urgent', it was highly desirable in India, and not a priority in China.

103. Ibid., pp.213, 277, 302.

States before specific changes could begin to take place in Africa itself. The real watershed in the Hampton for Africa policy might therefore be more legitimately marked not at the 1910 Conference but in the visits to Hampton in 1912 of two men who, as much as any others, were profoundly to influence the course of African education for the next generation - A.G. Fraser and his brother-in-law, J.H. Oldham.

Although Fraser would be more particularly involved in promoting rural education and teacher training in Ceylon for the next twelve years, he would subsequently be joined by Dr. Jones' protégé, J.E.K. Aggrey, in establishing a university in the Gold Coast on African lines.¹⁰⁴ But in 1912, his admiration for General Armstrong's methods was unreserved; 'A visit to Hampton', he proclaimed in the newly founded International Review of Missions, 'is to the missionary worth more in education than a dozen conferences. It is a missionary institution under ideal conditions'.¹⁰⁵ Such enthusiasm convinced Oldham, who was editor of this journal, and Secretary to the Continuation Committee set up by the World Missionary Conference, that he should investigate. And in late 1912, the briefest of visits assured him that Hampton might hold the solution to missionary education. He explained his new found ambitions to Dr. Frissell, Hampton's President:

104. Cf. W.E.F. Ward, Fraser of Trinity and Achimota (London, 1965).

105. A.G. Fraser, 'Impressions of Hampton Institute', International Review of Missions, 1, p.713.

The two days which I spent at Hampton were one of the richest experiences of my life and I shall never be able to forget all your great kindness. I learned more than I think I have ever before in the same amount of time. My great desire is to serve in any way that I can to make the work of Hampton bear fruit in other countries to the largest extent possible.¹⁰⁶

Oldham's quite unusual gifts in sowing ideas that he had taken up amongst influential people were at this stage largely responsible for an increased publicity for Hampton and Tuskegee in the short time before war broke out in Europe. For, as he had reflected on the American visit, he had convinced himself that one of his chief tasks must be 'to make the experience of Hampton fruitful in the work of Protestant Missions in Asia and Africa'.¹⁰⁷ On his own initiative, therefore, he sent the Education Secretary of the Continuation Committee to Hampton,¹⁰⁸ and successfully urged his American counterpart, Dr. John Mott, to pay a similar visit.¹⁰⁹ Plans were then set afoot for a number of key people in the mission field to go on educational exchanges, and through the International Review of Missions, Dr. Frissell was allowed to stress the value of his industrial education.¹¹⁰ Even Booker T. Washington (or at any rate his ghost writer, Robert Park) was prevailed

106. J.H. Oldham to H.B. Frissell, 15th October, 1912, Oldham file, HAI.

107. J.H. Oldham to H.B. Frissell, 2nd November, 1912, Oldham file, HAI.

108. J.H. Oldham to H.B. Frissell, 24th April, 1914, HAI.

109. Ibid. John R. Mott had been Chairman of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, 1910, and of the Continuation Committee; he was also General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, and of the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s of America.

110. H.B. Frissell, 'The Value of Industrial Education', International Review of Missions (I.R.M.), iv, 1915, pp.420-431.

upon to link the situation of Tuskegee with the condition of the mission school in Africa, in a contribution to the same journal, entitled, 'David Livingstone and the Negro'.¹¹¹

There remained one further figure who was to visit the South at this time, and gain the Hampton perspective for educational research, C.T. Loram, of South Africa. Currently engaged on identical work to Dr. Jesse Jones, he was attempting to collect statistics to support a new theory of African education.¹¹² From Booker Washington and Professor Work he sought figures which might convince his fellow whites that 'with proper training and education the negro can be made a valuable asset to any country'.¹¹³ He needed ammunition, he told Washington, to refute the notions of criminality, laziness and intermarriage held by South Africans about the Negro.

Until this point, Jones, Oldham and Loram, the men who would constitute a triumvirate on education in Africa after the war, had scarcely known of each other's existence. But on the publication of Loram's Education of the South African Native, and Jones' Negro Education in the same year, Oldham began to draw the separate strands together in a seminal

111. B.T. Washington, 'David Livingstone and the Negro', I.R.M., 11, 1913, ff. 224-235.

112. Loram had been introduced to the idea that he might learn from the Southern States by Maurice Evans who had attended the International Conference on the Negro two years earlier. See Chapter 1, references 66-67.

113. C.T. Loram to B.T. Washington, 27th December, 1914, container 523, BTW.LC.

review article of their findings. 'Christian Missions and the Education of the Negro' was the start of a formidable era of educational co-operation.¹¹⁴ The moment was opportune for Oldham; his characteristic long sight on mission problems had foreseen that large scale entry of government into traditional missionary preserves after the war was inevitable. And much mission education would, he felt, be almost certainly assumed by Government unless radical improvement could be made. In the two Reports, he found both the necessary sharp critique of mission effort and an appropriate remedy. Not only was the inappropriateness of the traditional literary school demonstrated authoritatively for the Negro of Africa and America, but both volumes proclaimed a new doctrine of educational adaptation.¹¹⁵ In a summary of their conclusions, Oldham accepted their teaching on differentiation with all its ambiguous use of the 'real' and the 'actual':

It is insisted that education must be closely related to the actual life of those who have to be taught. It must take account of their instincts, experiences, interests as distinct from those of people living in quite different conditions. Its aim must be to equip them for the life which they have to live. Hence the main emphasis must not be on a purely literary curriculum, such as still prevails in many schools, but on training in such necessities of actual life as

114. J.H. Oldham, 'Christian Missions and the Education of the Negro', International Review of Missions, vii, 1918, pp.242-247. Jones thought so highly of Oldham's commentary that he reproduced the whole of it in his Educational Adaptations, pp.24-27.

115. Loram had reached this view independently; in 1914 he was already professing to the President of Hampton the need for adaptation; 'I feel that the chief fault in our educational work in South Africa is that we are attempting to give the Bantu the almost entirely literary education that we give to the whites', (Loram to Frissell, 20th October, 1914, HAI).

health, hygiene, the making and keeping of a home, the earning of a livelihood and civic knowledge and spirit.¹¹⁶

But Oldham was not content merely to act as a propagandist for Jones' and Loram's ideas; he had for some time now been working on a scheme to utilise Hampton's lessons in India. Its characteristic emphases on the needs of the community seemed eminently suitable for what then looked like the beginnings of a mass movement of low caste Indians towards Christianity. In January 1917, a Hampton-for-India project was floated with the notion of establishing 'an institution for the creation of truer educational ideals and methods'.¹¹⁷ And while it would not attempt a reproduction of Hampton's plant in India, it would seek to capture all its peculiar success in enlisting its graduates for community service, and in correcting the dominant literary mode by its industrial programme.

The scheme soon broadened into an India-wide concern for the improvement of village education. A survey was necessary, and A.G. Fraser, the obvious choice, was provisionally commissioned to lead a deputation to study the situation. His conclusions, it was hoped, would show the way to a sound village education, whose 'object would be not ordinarily to attract the young Christian villagers away from their villages by education, but to make them good villagers'.¹¹⁸

116. J.H. Oldham, see reference 114, p.245; Oldham actively promoted the two works in his review, and said they might be 'accepted without question as the most authoritative works on their subjects'. *ibid.*, p.243.

117. Memorandum on an Educational Institution for meeting the needs of the Mass Movements in India, January 18, 1917. (British Missionary Societies) HAI.

118. Resolution of Conference on Indian Education, reported In W.E.F. Ward, *op.cit.*, p.122.

For the moment, the plan had to remain in reserve, awaiting the end of the war. By the end of 1918, however, circumstances suddenly changed, and the influence of Hampton on the Village Education Commission promised to be very much more close - Dr. Jones was invited to direct it.¹¹⁹ The change of leadership had arisen very naturally out of Jones' first personal meeting with Oldham when he was returning from a special mission to France. But it took on a somewhat different colour in the light of Jones' most recent activity.

During the war, Jones had considerably enhanced his reputation as an expert on the Negro, and not only in the narrowly educational sphere. As special collaborator in the Department of the Interior, he had recently been working on the more political aspects of Tuskegeeism, and had been attempting with the full support of the War Department to get at the facts of the Negro soldiers' morale in France. His experience there in December, 1918, with Dr. Moton, Negro president of Tuskegee, had convinced him that he must make his major concern the containment and diversion of the growing racial dissatisfaction of Negro troops, and work for their their peaceful reintroduction to civilian life in the States.¹²⁰ Jones' intimate knowledge of Negro leaders was

119. J.H. Oldham to T.J. Jones, 17th January, 1919, file 314, Edinburgh House (this file now in International Missionary Council Archives, Geneva).

120. T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 13th February, 1919, (RRM.GC. 1919, TUA). Robert Russa Moton, President of Tuskegee Institute in succession to Booker Washington, had graduated from Hampton Institute in 1890, and had taught there until Washington's death in 1915.

relied on by the War Department, and this enabled him with Moton's help to select twelve 'absolutely reliable' Y.M.C.A. Negroes to help pacify the Negro labour battalions in the French ports;¹²¹ his further plans were almost set in motion for using Mrs. Booker Washington as an agent for lessening the temper of the troops.¹²²

Concurrently in the States, Jones organised the establishment of an Inter-racial Committee for After War Co-operation.¹²³ And, like his Negro Education Report, this had the very delicate aim of finding an area of common ground for negotiation somewhere between white prejudice and black aspirations. As Executive Secretary of this Committee, Jones outlined his views characteristically:

The preaching of world democracy and the disturbance attending the world war has given rise to what Dr. Dillard has aptly called "Great Expectations". These "Great Expectations" are held in two groups.

- 1) The white people have "Great Expectations" that the negro soldiers are returning 'bumptious' and impossible.
- 2) The negro leaders have "Great Expectations" that democracy in all its implications is coming immediately...

The Committee is of the opinion that it is important to select the possible improvements rather than the program of complete change which the negroes themselves would advocate.¹²⁴

This organisation, especially in its early months, reflected Jones' pre-occupations with the dangers of Negro radicalism; but it brought also into the open the political assumptions

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121. I. Tourtellot to R.R. Moton, 14th February 1919; T.J. Jones to Moton, 29.3.19, (RRM.GC.1919. TUA.).
122. T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 27th March 1919 (ibid). On Jones' tactical reasons for not sending Mrs. B.T. Washington on this trip, see Chapter III, ref. 96.
123. T.J. Jones, Educational Adaptations, pp. 90-93. See further Chapter VII, text to reference 52.
124. Minute of 1st Meeting of the Committee on After War Co-operation (March 17, 1919), RRM.GC.1919.TUA. The Committee changed its name soon after to The Inter-racial Commission.

that had underlain much of his educational work, and in general hinted at the value of Tuskegeeism in facing a new problem - the post-war demands of colonised peoples for self-determination.

Something of this new extension to Jones' educational reputation seems to have been apparent to Oldham as he negotiated for Jones to lead the Commission to India. For, while acknowledging Hampton as the inspiration for the Indian Commission, he warned Jones emphatically against giving educated Indians the impression that the 'Indian people as a whole were a backward or a depressed class'; they would strongly resent being given a prescription appropriate to the Negroes' political status in the American South. And for this reason, the very name 'Hampton' had been scrupulously avoided in discussing the project with Indians.¹²⁵

But before Jones' diplomacy could be tested in India, the Commission's leadership reverted to Fraser.¹²⁶ For, despite Jones' enthusiasm for the scheme, the conditions of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Act of Incorporation limited its interests to 'the education of negroes, both in Africa and the United States'.¹²⁷ But in addition to this legal disqualification, Jones had in these same months of January and

125. J.H. Oldham to T.J. Jones, 17th January, 1919, file 314, see ref. 119.

126. The Village Education Commission did however only go to report on India after a thorough tour of the Southern States under T.J. Jones' guidance. See further, Village Education in India. A Commission of Inquiry (London, 1920).

127. The Phelps-Stokes Fund also made provision in its constitution to aid American Indians and 'needy and deserving' whites. (Educational Adaptations, p.15). It was however the only fund operating in the Southern States which had this 'Pan-Negro' interest written into its charter.

February 1919 been thinking seriously of transferring his attention to Africa.

This new interest might be partly explained by the express terms of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Charter; it is not improbable, however, that an element of competition with DuBois' African programme stimulated Jones to move now in this direction. DuBois had, after all, been in France at the same time as Jones and Moton, and, it was well known, was making preparations for his First Pan-African Congress for February 1919.¹²⁸ Jones may well have begun to realise the logical extension of his feud with DuBois into the African arena, for certainly it was at this point that he started to press the urgency of an African survey upon the officers of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.¹²⁹ Within a month, a perfect opportunity had presented itself; a request was channelled through the North American Missionary Conference from the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society that a survey of West African education be undertaken by the Phelps-Stokes

128. Jones' interest may also have been moved in this direction by Moton's being asked to be present at the Peace Conference for consultation regarding African colonies. Although Moton did not finally attend, Jones did, on his own account, delay in London 'to make some investigations with reference to the English viewpoint regarding Africa', and had two conferences with Lloyd George's private secretary, (R.R. Moton to A. Phelps Stokes, 19th January 1919, box 71, Peabody Papers, Library of Congress, Washington). That DuBois and Moton did not necessarily hold radically different views on African policy may be seen from Moton's enthusiasm for the Pan-African Congress. See further Chapter VIII, text to reference 42; also Chapter V reference 3.

129. R.R. Moton to A. Phelps Stokes, 19th January 1919, see ref. 128.

Fund and that Dr. Jones be requested to carry it out.¹³⁰ Their agreement marked the beginning of the First Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission.

All the elements of co-operation that would fall into place in the few months before the Commission departed, had been slowly coming together over the previous decade and a half. From South Africa, Jan Smuts would now assign C.T. Loram to travel 7,000 miles with the Commission;¹³¹ Oldham would ensure the co-operation of the European governments and missionary societies;¹³² and the influence of Tuskegee would be shown in the assumption by the Foreign Mission Conference of North America that the main task of the Commission would be to 'study and report upon the industrial education adapted to the needs of the African.'¹³³

There was one very important particular in which the Phelps-Stokes African Commission would differ from their earlier Negro Education Report; it would not lay itself open again to the charge which DuBois had then made, 'that the Phelps-Stokes Fund find it so much easier to work for the Negro than with him'.¹³⁴ J.E.K. Aggrey would be called from the relative obscurity of Livingstone College to be a member of the Commission. It was a courageous and nearly unprecedented move for such an international commission. An

130. Minutes of Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, (28.2.19), p.11, (in Archives of Division of World Mission and Evangelism, Inter-Church Centre, New York.).

131. T.J. Jones, Education in Africa (New York, 1922), p.xxii.

132. Ibid.

133. Minute of the Committee of Reference and Counsel, December 4th 1919, Minute No.88, see reference 130.

134. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Negro Education', Crisis, xv. No.4, Feb., 1918, p.177.

African Negro himself would help to report on the 'Great Expectations' of West Africans and their aspirations for full Western education. He must be prepared in West Africa to advocate industrial education and patience where his hearers would expect talk of universities and self-determination, and in South Africa he must suffer discrimination with a smile. It would not, Dr. Jones saw, be easy, for it was essentially a task where only the Tuskegee spirit, and the good offices of its President, could prevail:

I desire also to inform you that I have asked Mr. Aggrey to come to the Tuskegee Conference. I am eager that he shall have another contact with Tuskegee and with you before he leaves for Africa ... Mr. Aggrey's position on the committee will not be an easy one. Prejudice and misunderstandings are as difficult in Africa as they are in any part of the United States. Very confidentially, I would say that it may be impossible for us to take Mr. Aggrey to South Africa ... In view of the difficulties that may arise, I am eager that you help Mr. Aggrey to take a broad view with regard to even the narrowness of white people.¹³⁵

135. T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 17th January 1920, RRM.
GC. 1919. TUA.

CHAPTER III

EAST AFRICA, PAN-AFRICANISM AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO BEFORE
THE PHELPS-STOKES COMMISSION

During this period when Hampton and Tuskegee were gaining considerable popularity from Missions and Government for their relevance to Africa, certain groups of Africans in Kenya and Uganda had been forming their own perspective on American Negroes. Indeed a whole range of contacts with Negroes in America had been experienced by a small minority of East Africans in the years before the Phelps-Stokes Commission's second African tour of 1924, and its commendation of Tuskegee and Hampton. There were three most significant facets of this East African interest in the American Negro: the Pan-African aspect of the earliest nationalist movements in Kenya and Uganda; the American Negro as a missionary to East Africa; and the role of the African student in the American Negro college. The combined experience in these three areas had made some East Africans aware of the wide dimensions of potential aid from American Negroes before Aggrey and Dr. Jones pleaded for the specific adoption of Tuskegee's educational and political philosophy.

The first opportunity for some extended contact between East Africans and American Negroes was provided by the First World War, and in particular by the role of the Coloured Y.M.C.A. of America in relation to the Native Carrier Corps in the East African Campaign. It arose very largely from the initiative of a young American Negro graduate of Shaw University, Max Yergan, who in 1916 answered a call to work

as Y.M.C.A. secretary among Indian troops in Bangalore, and was shortly afterwards transferred at his own request to work with the African troops in British East Africa.¹ His success in this field was so outstanding in alleviating the often appalling conditions of the Carrier Corps,² that the Y.M.C.A. headquarters in New York were cabled, with the full authority of the military Command, to send six additional Negro secretaries.³ There was a ready response, and within a few months, Yergan was joined by these further graduates of American Negro colleges - Lloyd of Howard, Ballou from Knoxville, Ritchie from Fisk, Pritchett from Lincoln, Sherard from Atlanta, and the Rev. W.P. Stanley from Baltimore.⁴

Seven Y.M.C.A. aides in East Africa might seem a very small detail of the total American Negro involvement in the First World War; but if it is placed within the context of the long frustrated desire of educated Negroes to work on equal terms with Whites in the uplift of the peoples of East Africa, it has great significance.

It was certainly seen by W.E.B. DuBois as a major rift

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1. Channing H. Tobias, 'Max Yergan', The Crisis, xl, July 1933, p.155.
 2. Very vivid and detailed documentation of conditions for the Africans in this campaign are provided in J.W. Arthur's papers, Edinburgh University Library. Cf. also, Savage, Donald C., and Munro, J. Forbes, 'Carrier Corps Recruitment in the British East African Protectorate, 1914-1918', Journal of African History, vii, No.2, 1966, pp.313-342.
 3. Major C.R. Webster, War Work Secretary, 'Annual Report for the year ending September 30th, 1917', in Reports of Foreign Secretaries, vol. ii, p.940, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York.
 4. J.E. Moorland, an article on Max Yergan and the Y.M.C.A. in East Africa, The Crisis, xv, No.2, December 1917, p.68.

in the long-standing prejudice against American Negroes in African missions, and he was quick to give publicity through The Crisis to the full range of these secretaries' exploits and their success. An article by Jesse E. Moorland, the senior secretary of the International Committee of Coloured Men's Y.M.C.A.s, rehearsed in almost Pauline terms the histories of shipwreck, loss of possessions, fever and drowning that featured in their African service;⁵ but he saw the greater implications of this episode:

This means more than a Y.M.C.A. movement; it means a movement which will open the doors of this great continent in a way they have never been opened to such of our young manhood and womanhood who will be willing to give others the chance they themselves have had.⁶

The white secretaries, too, who worked alongside Max Yergan's contingent could not help remarking on the great post-war possibilities for Negro mission that lay behind this first American Negro educational activity in East Africa. The great advantage that the college educated Negroes seemed to have in dealing with the wide assortment of South African, West African, West Indian and local troops did not go unnoticed,⁷ especially as it was assumed, perhaps more readily by Y.M.C.A. secretaries than by traditional missionaries, that 'this great pioneer mission work ought to appeal very strongly to the colored community of America, for it is

5. Ibid., pp.65-68. Ritchie and Pritchett lost all their possessions when their ship was mined off Capetown. Later, Ballou was drowned off Dar es Salaam, and Pritchett died in trying to rescue him. Yergan was invalided home after a two year period.

6. Moorland, op.cit., p.68.

7. A. Perry Park, Army Secretary, Y.M.C.A., Lahore, 'Annual Report for year ending Sept. 30th, 1917', in Reports of Foreign Secretaries 1917, vol. ii, p.994, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York.

essentially their own'.⁸ Nor was the Y.M.C.A. unaware of the difficulties in promoting such a programme of co-operation between the trained Negro leadership of the Southern States and African youth; but they were most anxious to prevent the growing tendency in African governments to categorise all American Negroes with African aspirations as virulent Pan-African revolutionaries. With their East African experience they felt they could make a justifiable distinction:

There are those whose interest goes along the line of a great Pan-African political movement in antagonism to the White. There are those on the other hand who have a deep sense of missionary obligation and who feel that through education, through play, through religious leadership, through industrial and agricultural effort, through the promotion of co-operative credit, adapted to meet African conditions, in co-operation between leaders of all races will the largest result come.⁹

This latter was certainly the mould of these first American Negro secretaries, and it is interesting to note how their co-operative attitude in racial matters foreshadowed the amazing inter-racial sensitivity of J.E.K. Aggrey in Kenya six years later.¹⁰ It differentiated them from some of the other colonial troops, whose tendency to voice complaints at discriminatory wartime treatment had frequently to be assuaged by 'their consecrated commonsense and unselfish

8. Ibid., p.999; also Kenneth Saunders, 'A Forward Move in Africa', Southern Workman, lxi, Feb. 1920, p.84: 'Today the African peoples are calling to their kindred in America to come over and help them; no one else can do it so well. For almost every great power in Europe has some dark spots in the record of its dealings with the peoples of Africa, and the record of some is wholly dark'. Saunders was putting forward here a not uncommon view of the white Y.M.C.A. secretaries to their Negro colleagues.

9. E.C. Carter to Oswin Bull, 26 July 1921, Yergan file, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York.

10. See Chapter IV.

service'.¹¹ They were held in high regard by the white officers 'for their sterling manhood and their humble yet confident bearing',¹² and it is not surprising in these circumstances to learn that 'one of the secretaries addressed the white troops on "Booker T. Washington" and his earnestness and striking appeal for the men of his race sank into the hearts of the white men who heard him and had its effect there'.¹³

There was however a prodigious amount of work to be done among the Africans, many of whom had been for the first time uprooted from the relative isolation of mission stations in the Reserves, and were forming their impressions of wartime 'civilisation' in the large military camps throughout East Africa. Yergan found hundreds of Mission Christians in the bewilderment of this life without any army chaplains attached, and proceeded, first at the religious level, to organise un-denominational activity and study that united African Christians of different sects.¹⁴ Further initiatives were taken in recreational work. But by far the most important to many Africans was the chance the secretaries afforded of beginning or continuing their education. Yergan realised the peculiar challenge of this work and its far-reaching consequences, and gave much attention to the extension of literacy through the medium of night schools in at least six

11. A. Perry Park, op.cit., p.994.

12. Ibid., p.995.

13. Ibid.

14. Max Yergan, 'The Y.M.C.A. with Native Troops and Military Laborers in East Africa' (12 page manuscript), Moorland Collection, Howard University Library (Washington D.C.), pp.2-3.

centres;¹⁵ a technical school was taken over from the Railway Department in Nairobi and two of the secretaries had the training of seventy Africans for both clerical and manual skills.¹⁶ Indeed, many hundreds of men and boys in the camps learnt their first stumbling sentences at the hands of these seven Negroes; and if it was later to become a cause of rancour that American Negroes were no longer allowed into East Africa to teach, the reason lay partly in the conspicuous success of their first Negro educational mission, and in the team's knowledge that they had the enthusiasm and good will of the local Africans; Yergan made the point forcibly:

If anyone has doubt as to the desire and ability of the African to take profitable advantage of such opportunities, he has but to know what goes on in these schools. Men and boys who will spend from two to three hours over a slate or the alphabet after having worked for eight or ten hours under an African sun, must have the desire, and to be able to master the alphabet, write one's name and read a little within the surprisingly short space of four weeks are strong evidences of Native ability ... Arab, Swahili, Kikuyu and many other tribes crowd into these school huts where our secretaries with Native assistants are trying to help meet this need in their lives.¹⁷

It is an open question still exactly what links were formed with the senior, mission-trained native Kenyans and Ugandans who made up a significant portion of the Carrier Corps. But whether or not evidence appears later of association between any of these Negro graduates and some of the activists who would soon achieve prominence through African political movements, it is certain that the presence of these seven men was a very potent advertisement for American

15. Ibid., p.8.

16. C.R. Webster, 'Annual Report for the year ending Sept. 30th, 1918', in Reports of Foreign Secretaries 1918, vol. ii, p.735.

17. Max Yergan, op.cit., p.8.

Negro education in the Southern States. Yergan frequently himself drew attention to the educational opportunities in the Negro colleges of America, and was probably in a small way responsible for encouraging East Africans to think of American Negroes as their brothers, and to expect increased service from them; he gave an interesting example of this after one of his lectures in East Africa:

When I was through, I went outside and sat on the trunk of a tree. Presently one of our boys came out and said, 'You say back in America you have schools and colleges and churches'. "Yes". 'And you say you have this thing called ambition and hope, and then you say you are literally our brothers and sisters, that the same blood which flows through you flows through us here. If that is the case, why have so many of you remained in America so long? Why are you alone here?'¹⁸

There was never, in the minds of the white secretaries of the Y.M.C.A. and the National Councils in India, Britain and America, any question that this East African channel of service would not continue open after the war; it had far outgrown the exigencies of war's demands in its one and a half years, and when Max Yergan was encouraged to accept in March 1920 the National Secretaryship of East Africa, serving under the English National Council, but deriving his support from the Coloured Men's Department of the International Committee in America, a permanent link between American Negroes and the East African field seemed about to be established.¹⁹

After Yergan's acceptance, approval was being gained as a formality through the Colonial Office for his beginning work in autumn 1920, when the barrier came down. A short

18. Max Yergan, copy of a speech delivered at Atlantic City, September, 1921, in the Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York.

19. Minutes of Foreign Committee of the Y.M.C.A., New York, held December 18, 1919, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York.

note from the Governor of Kenya's personal secretary informed the English National Council that Sir Edward Northey did 'not consider it advisable to introduce into East Africa negroes of a different calibre from those to be found in East Africa itself'.²⁰ Very serious implications were raised by the terms of Northey's refusal. It apparently set an embargo against any Negro of greater education or higher sophistication than Kenyan Africans, and left no place for Negro co-operation in the work of uplift in East Africa.

Although it becomes apparent in a further confidential letter to the Y.M.C.A. that Northey was opposed to the scheme also on the grounds that all the young Europeans of the post-war soldier settlement scheme must receive the Y.M.C.A.'s full attention before the Africans could be considered,²¹ it is not impossible that there was an element in Northey's wartime service in Nyasaland which could have provided a further compelling reason for the interdiction. There he could not but have been party to the discussion of the John Chilembwe rising and have paid some attention to its roots in American Negro radicalism and educational service in Nyasaland. At any rate, Native welfare in Kenya was to be the prerogative

20. G.R. Sandford to O.H. McCowen, 26 May 1920, box 67, World Service - Foreign Work, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York. It is interesting to note that President Theodore Roosevelt had in 1910 felt very differently about the value of American Negroes in East Africa: (African Game Trails (New York, 1910), p.10), 'One of the Government farms was being run by an educated colored man from Jamaica; and we were shown much courtesy by a colored man from our own country who was practising as a doctor. No one could fail to be impressed with the immense advance these men represented as compared with the native Negro'.

21. Sir Edward Northey to O.H. McCowen, 24 September, 1920, box 67, World Service - Foreign Work, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, N.Y.

of the European missionaries with their African assistants rather than the occasion to use 'an imported Negro'.²² However unjust the decision was in the case of Yergan, it did not, in the highly explosive state of Colonial Office-Kenya relations at that time, seem to the Y.M.C.A. or to J.H. Oldham to be an auspicious moment to lobby for a reversal of policy.²³

Yergan was shortly, after some considerable difficulty, to gain entry to another African country; but even though this particular attempt to establish a link between the educated youth of the Southern States and of East Africa proved impossible, interest in alliances with American Negroes did not rest there; it was now taken up by two of the young nationalist political associations in Kenya and Uganda.

The Young Baganda Association's (Y.B.A.) origins are in some doubt; certainly it had come to the notice of an acute Government official in 1918;²⁴ and it was his opinion that the tracery of influences that eventually led to its becoming a fully organised pressure group of young educated Baganda may well have led back to 1915, in which year he thought it 'certain that John Chilembwe, the leader of the abortive Nyasaland rising, sent his revolutionary emissaries to invite the co-operation of the Baganda'.²⁵ Although this same official believed further that the Young Baganda Association

22. Ibid.

23. E.C. Carter to E.C. Jenkins, 29 November, 1920, box 67, see reference 21.

24. J.H. Driberg to the Chief Secretary to the Govt. Entebbe. 23.4.20. Notes on the Young Baganda Society, C.O. 57581/20 S, Public Record Office.

25. Ibid.

was a respectable front for a nucleus of determined revolutionaries,²⁶ a series of very thorough investigations by the Uganda Intelligence authorities failed to find any evidence of sedition.²⁷ Indeed, what is known of their operations shows them to have been modelled on the standard tactics of educated pressure groups - publicity through their Luganda paper, Sekanyolya, with a Swahili edition for the Nairobi branch of the Young Baganda; and a readiness to seek support for their cause from similar groups elsewhere.

The parallel association in Kenya, the East African Association, also admits of conflicting opinions over its origins,²⁸ but its development was both more rapid and more radical than the Y.B.A. Its Secretary, Harry Thuku,²⁹ was not only a born organiser, but had a political philosophy which increasingly cut across tribal, national, religious and racial boundaries. He was determined to forge alliances amongst all communities who felt similar grievances against white settlement, and particularly amongst his own African followers, avoid factionalism or lukewarm loyalty:

Now if anyone wants friendship with us we also want to be friendly with him, but with him who does not want to be friends with us, we do not want friendship, even if he is a European, may he perish at a

26. Ibid.

27. R.T. Coryndon to Milner, 19 January 1921, C.O. 537/948, Gov. 100082, Public Record Office, London.

28. C.G. Rosberg and J. Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau": Nationalism in Kenya (New York, 1966), p. 36.

29. Keith Kyle, 'Gandhi, Harry Thuku and early Kenya Nationalism', Transition, vi, No.27, 1966, pp. 16-22, quotes much of the extant material on Thuku. My idea that research would reveal an American Negro extension to Thuku's politics is derived from the parallel developed between Thuku and Chilembwe in G.A. Shepperson and T. Price, Independent African (Edinburgh, 1958), pp. 426-428.

distance. But it is no use for us black people to quarrel amongst ourselves.³⁰

With this direct conviction he proceeded soon to cut across tribal boundaries.³¹ The theme of intertribal unity was a common one in both his speeches and his writing, and when it was not spoken of, it might very well be symbolised by his attending his meetings flanked by a Kamba and a Kavirondo.³² This deep feeling for intertribal unity, and wider than that, he described very tellingly in one of his publications:

I was very delighted to be travelling to the meeting at Ngenda, because I was accompanied by the school teacher, Samuel Okoth, a Christian from Maseno, and two Moslems, their names were Abdullah Tairara and Ali Kironjo; the going was delightful all through, and we travelled as one brother (kama Ndugu moja) and I saw no difference between the Kavirondo and the Kikuyu, or between the Christian believer and the believer in Islam; and I was very pleased too in that we fulfilled the command of the Lord God, that you should love your neighbour as yourself.³³

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30. H. Thuku to Matthew Njeroge, 23 December 1921, enclosed in Bowring to Churchill, 25 January 1922, C.O. 533/275, c.o. 10273, Public Record Office.
31. I am indebted to George Bennett for pointing out that Thuku could operate on a tribal level if the occasion arose, as is seen from his forming the Young Kikuyu Association. The title 'East African Association' may date its establishment as prior to the change in status from British East African Protectorate to Kenya Colony in July 1920, or it may register a protest at that change. See further Rosberg and Nottingham, op.cit., pp. 26, 36-37. Thuku however called his Association 'lately established' in a letter of September 1921, see Appendix V.
32. This is mentioned in the depositions of Africans giving evidence in favour of deporting Thuku, C.O. 533/280, gov. 40279, 21 July 1922, Public Record Office.
33. H. Thuku, Tangazo (Nairobi, East African Chronicle) 17.2.1922; This translation, from what is to the best of my knowledge, the only extant edition of Thuku's broadsheet, I owe to Mr. Opadia Kadima. (Coryndon Papers, 17/2, Rhodes House, Oxford). See Appendix III. For possible connections between Thuku and the Masai, see Lonsdale, J.M., 'Some origins of Nationalism in East Africa', Journal of African History, ix, 1968, p. 126.

Nor was this position as a more than tribal spokesman simply his own assertion. The Young Kavirondo Association also recognised and contributed financially to his central authority. Even before they had come vividly into public attention on December 23rd, 1921, they had sent him money for his work, and promised him more from their mass meeting that day.³⁴

Thuku's further allies in Kenya were naturally the Indians, and with them there does seem to have been more of an equal alliance than missionaries wished to believe. Admittedly M.A. Desai's East African Chronicle office was ready to co-operate to the full in the printing of Thuku's proclamations and later his broadsheets,³⁵ and it was certainly Desai himself who aided him on the English of his international and official correspondence. But this did not necessarily make him the catspaw of the Indians as he was stereotyped.³⁶ Indeed, his views on the Indian question of equal rights in Kenya made abundantly clear that he was no tool:

I can strongly say that if Home Authorities will grant equal rights to Indians I have no objection. But we Natives must have such rights also in our countries including India.³⁷

34. H. Thuku to M. Njeroge, see reference 30 above.

35. Tangazo and printed copies of correspondence between the East African Association and the Kenya Government were published at the Chronicle Office.

36. Cf. H.D. Hooper to J.H. Oldham, 4 March 1922, East Africa, Kenya file, Edinburgh House, 'Thuku, the mouthpiece of a clever Indian lawyer'.

37. H. Thuku to J.J.R. Kamulegeya, 9 September 1921, enclosed in Northey to Churchill, 4 May 1922, C.O. 533/277, Public Record Office. Very substantial evidence of the mutual respect and confidence between Desai and Thuku is provided by an exchange of correspondence between the two men after Thuku's arrest. Four lengthy letters, containing very

[Contd.]

But it is important also that the title of his Association took little notice of the boundary between Kenya and Uganda, and that some of his closest policy moves were worked out in co-operation with the Secretary of the Young Baganda Association. They had reached a common position on the Indian question. Thuku had stressed the sympathetic guidance Africans received from the Indian artisans,³⁸ and the Secretary of the Young Baganda, Joseph Kamulegeya, had strongly rejected an anti-Indian supplement in Sekanyolya.³⁹ Their correspondence on the Indian question had brought the realisation that their Associations had common goals, as Thuku explained, in what must be one of the earliest African declarations on 'Closer Union':

It has been very interested to me and my Association also to receive your letter with remark that my aim is yours, it is quite true because I recognise no difference between the natives of Kenya and Uganda, so far as our future status and education concerned. What is good for the Native of Uganda is equally as good for the Native of Kenya.^{40*}

Thuku's growing strategic closeness with the Young

* No alteration has been made in the English used by Africans, either here or elsewhere in this study. No use will therefore be made of the term 'sic'.

37. Contd.] valuable insights into Thuku's political aims, were given to an Indian paper by C.F. Andrews, and reprinted in the East African Standard, (weekly edition) Saturday, August 26th, 1922.

38. H. Thuku to E.B. Denham, 19 July 1921, in printed correspondence of H. Thuku with Government, East Africa, Kenya file, Edinburgh House.

39. Kyle, op.cit., p.18. An interesting comment of C.F. Andrews corroborates the position of the Young Baganda on this issue, in 'The Kenya Problem', The East and the West, xxi, July 1923, pp.223-224, 'I put to them (the Y.B.A.) the question, whether they wanted Indians to come to their country or not ... They replied unanimously at once that they owed much to the presence of the Indians; they desired more Indians to come out ...'

40. H. Thuku to Kamulegeya, op.cit.

Baganda opened up for him a new and, this time, international area of alliance with American Negroes, for Kamulegeya had by the summer of 1921 been in correspondence with one sector of American Negro opinion for two years and had been for some time one of the main entry points for American Negro literature to Uganda.

This had arisen through his developing a correspondence with the President of Tuskegee Institute, Robert Moton, after the War, and his successful attempt to gain a place there for his younger brother, Daniel Kato. The choice of Tuskegee was interesting. There had been for over a decade in Uganda a keen interest in continuing education to a level beyond their own highest school, Budo, and it had become not uncommon for aspiring students to proceed from there to Trinity College, Kandy, Ceylon, under A.G. Fraser.⁴¹ The War had, however, given men like Kamulegeya a perspective on Negro affairs beyond East Africa; and they had learnt perhaps of the large predominantly Negro colleges of the United States from the West Indian, and West African troops, or possibly directly from the seven Y.M.C.A. secretaries.

Whatever the combination of influences that suggested the American South to Kamulegeya, Daniel Kato became in June 1920 the first Ugandan entrant to Tuskegee,⁴² establishing in the process a direct link with the Young Baganda Association for information and literature from Negro America. As will be seen from a later chapter,⁴³ Tuskegee was at this

41. I am indebted to Mrs. A.G. Fraser for her very vivid account of the Ugandan students who followed her husband to Ceylon for further education after he had left Uganda. (interview 1967).

42. Registry of Students, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

43. See chapter VIII.

period far from being the safe stereotype of Negro education it was often represented. Rather, it had a strong African orientation, and gave much attention, through one of the more radical African members of staff, to the question of American Negroes in Africa. Thus a personal interest had been taken in Max Yergan and money raised for him by the student body.⁴⁴ In this environment, Kato had ready access to a wide range of American Negro thought; and that he took a keen interest in the same problems as his brother in Uganda is evident from his delivering a lecture to the African Student Union of America on 'What are the prospects for the American Negro in Africa?'⁴⁵

Kamulegeya had not, however, been content to await his brother's arrival in Tuskegee before seeking firsthand information on American Negro activities. Already by March 1920, he had received directly from President Moton copies of American Negro periodicals, especially The Crisis and the New York Age.⁴⁶ These were passed round amongst his community, and several subscriptions were taken out. And it is worth noticing here that despite the tendency amongst informed missionary and philanthropic opinion to differentiate between Tuskegee-type Negroes and DuBois-type, it was the President of Tuskegee himself who was in all likelihood the

44. Yergan had lectured to the students in March 1921, and they agreed on a target of 250 dollars to be raised in his interest during April (Moton papers, 1920, Tuskegee Institute Archives.).

45. 'Fifth Annual Conference of the African Student Union', Tuskegee Student, xxxiv, March, 1924, p.5.

46. J.R. Kamulegeya to R.R. Moton, 4 March 1920, Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1919, Tuskegee Institute Archives (hereinafter, RRM. GC. 1919. TUA.)

first man to send DuBois' periodical, The Crisis, to the young African nationalists of Uganda. A consequence of The Crisis circulating in East Africa was, of course, greatly to increase the interest in American Negro education, because of the prominence given in the magazine's advertising and copy to the Negro colleges. So rapid indeed was the growth of this interest that by March 1922, it had reached the attention of Governor Coryndon, who regarded 'with especial anxiety a desire, which has become more marked of late, on the part of certain chiefs of different tribes, to send their sons to America, and notably to the great institution at Tuskegee, for education'.⁴⁷

In the Governor's mind, in addition to Daniel Kato,⁴⁸ would be Hosea Nyabongo, the nephew of the Omukama of Toro, who had entered Tuskegee in 1922, and would, so Coryndon thought, be considered a handsome prey by Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, or the African Communities' League.⁴⁹ An attempt was made therefore to have the Colonial Office consent to his refusing all passports for Ugandans wishing to go to the Southern States. Churchill, the Colonial Secretary, agreed.⁵⁰ It must be assumed that the restrictions on passport issue to the States were not relaxed

47. Coryndon to Secretary of State for Colonies, 30 May 1922, C.O. 536/119, c.o.33310, Public Record Office, London.

48. Coryndon to Northey, 28 June 1922, inclosed in Northey to Churchill, C.O. 533/279, Public Record Office. Here Kamulegeya and his brother in Tuskegee were described as the sons of 'an eccentric but not disloyal, county chief of Buganda'.

49. Coryndon mistakenly believed that these were two separate organisations.

50. Archer to Devonshire, 14 August 1923, C.O. 533/126, Public Record Office.

for some considerable time, for, despite the demand that the Governor had described, only one Ugandan, Ernest Kalibala, reached the Negro Colleges in the years before 1928.⁵¹ It is difficult otherwise to explain the non-appearance of Ugandans in the States, especially as prior to the Governor's action, students had had official help in approaching further education in the U.S.A.; one of the Assistant D.C.'s had gone so far as to ask Tuskegee for prospectuses and information on Negro colleges to cope with the requests he received about them.⁵²

The Governor's intention in erecting the barrier had been 'to discourage as far as possible the connection which is gradually becoming established between East Africa and the Southern States',⁵³ but action came too late. Links had been established for over a year between both the young nationalist organisations in East Africa and the three main streams of the Negro movements in the States. The deliberate policy of involving the American Negro leadership in their political struggles had been embarked on together by Thuku and Kamulegeya, but because of the longstanding informal contact between Kamulegeya and Tuskegee, the first move came from his Association. In his official capacity as Secretary of the Young Baganda, he approached the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (N.A.A.C.P.) in New York. This was a natural first step, since The Crisis had

51. L.A. Roy to Anson Phelps Stokes, 18 June 1926, file A-1, Phelps-Stokes Archives, New York.

52. C.S. Nason to R.R. Moton, 3 April 1922, (RRM.GC.1922.TUA).

53. Coryndon to Northey, see reference 48.

been for over a year in circulation in Uganda, and it was all the more likely on account of the publicity that DuBois was giving to Pan-Africanism in these last few months before the Second Pan-African Congress.⁵⁴ A reply was sent from the N.A.A.C.P. promising help in any way possible, and although the exact terms of the N.A.A.C.P. letter are not yet known, it is more than likely that DuBois would have confirmed the importance of the alliance between the U.S.A. and East Africa.⁵⁵

There is an intriguing factor beyond the imminence of the Pan-African Congress, which may have helped to set Kamulegeya on to this cultivation of Negro support. It appears in his next letter, addressed this time to Tuskegee, to the Members of the Negro Farmers' Conference. Kamulegeya reveals that he may have had added encouragement to seek such alliances:

This Association was advised more than twice by Political men and lovers of Africans that we ought to affiliate with our brothers who are over-seas such as yourself here in United States of America and others in Africa and elsewhere.⁵⁶

While this phrase 'Political men and lovers of Africans' could conceivably refer to DuBois, it is much more probably an allusion to non-Negro encouragement. It could reasonably enough be some of Thuku's and Kamulegeya's friends in the Indian National Congress of East Africa, and it is just

54. For the Bulletins issued by DuBois in these pre-conference months, see an example in Appendix IV. These possibly circulated in East Africa.

55. The reference to the approach to the N.A.A.C.P. occurs in J.R. Kamulegeya to the Negro Farmers' Conference, Tuskegee, 13.9.21, (RRM.GC.1921.TUA.).

56. Ibid.

possible that additional encouragement may have come from a Pan-Islamic body termed 'The Khalifate Party' by one of the acutest observers among the missionaries; its representative in Nairobi was one of Thuku's main supporters, and its alleged aim was to make 'a bid for a big anti-white combination throughout Africa'.⁵⁷ But whatever the immediate stimuli, there was, in this move to incorporate the American Negroes in their struggles, the culmination of the slowly growing Negro consciousness beyond, tribe, nation and continent.

And it was only now in the frustration and disenchantment of post-war conditions in East Africa that the gradual informal process of contact became a political necessity. Kamulegeya stressed to Tuskegee the unity and strength in such an alliance with its potential for reciprocal aid:

Not only to the friendship but also to seek co-operation and support from time to time. You know, dear brothers, that unless we Negroes get proper education and understand modern civilised ways, we will never be advanced and enjoy all the privileges of the citizens of today; we should therefore love one another.⁵⁸

A characteristic of Kamulegeya's letter, which brought it into marked contrast with Thuku's international appeals, was its conspicuous lack of rancour against whites. It was rather a quiet appreciation that, although in Uganda the best land was in the hands of the Africans, it was more likely

57. H.D. Hooper to J.H. Oldham, 4 March 1922, file East Africa-Kenya-Education, Edinburgh House. There is no corroboration for Hooper's assertion about this 'Khalifate Party'. He did however notice that Thuku deliberately publicised his friendship with Moslems, and that Abdulla Tairara and Ali Kironjo were his close associates.

58. J.R. Kamulegeya to the Negro Farmers' Conference, see reference 55 above.

that through other Negroes they would learn to make the best use of their assets than through Indian traders or the white government. The burden of the letter thus came to be a request for a commission of the Negro Farmers to visit Uganda and advise them on how best to develop their land.⁵⁹ That the full development of their agricultural resources should have been the first request of the Young Baganda in 1921 was all the more interesting in view of the common missionary attitude to urban, educated Africans; three of Uganda's leading C.M.S. missionaries felt that in 1925 they were breaking new ground when they suggested bringing agricultural graduates of Tuskegee and Hampton to help correct the Baganda's distaste for agriculture.⁶⁰

Of course the absence in Kamulegeya's letter of political grievances may not mean any more than that he had a more sophisticated awareness of Tuskegee's characteristic interests than Thuku, and would therefore understand that President Moton would be more likely to be sympathetic to the economic forms of Pan-African co-operation, without too much of the political overtones. He had, after all, corresponded earlier with Moton over economic matters. And in the process he had given notice of what may be one of the earliest East African examples of an attempt to form trade links between Africans and American Negroes, such as had by this time in West Africa

59. Ibid.

60. Memorandum of H. Mathers, H.M. Grace, and H.F. Wright presented to the Phelps-Stokes Fund after their southern tour, 23.10.25, file B-3, Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives, New York; see further Chapter VII, reference 80.

become a common occurrence.⁶¹ What result if any came from these early gropings in the field of economic interchange or from the request to the Negro Farmers can only for the moment be conjectured; but again it must be insisted, as with so much else in the realm of East African-American Negro relations in the 1920s and 1930s, that it is the attempt that is important, however frustrated it may have been.

Harry Thuku's letter to Tuskegee preceded Kamulegeya's by five days; its tone was, however, radically different, and coming as it did just two years after the founding of the East African Association, it constitutes one of the fullest statements of Thuku's views from that period. Stylistically it was the production of his Indian friends at the Chronicle office, but the sentiments were manifestly his own. These contents were hardly, however, attuned to Tuskegee's ear, consisting, as they did, of a lengthy, generalised critique of the twenty years of British justice and overrule that Kenya had experienced. Although therefore it is not surprising that such a narrative of naked exploitation apparently gained no response from Moton, it is important to

61. J.R. Kamulegeya to R.R. Moton, 4 March 1920 (RRM.GC.1919,TUA), mentions that one of Kamulegeya's friends had been contemplating a large export-import business, and had been through Kamulegeya taking Dr. Moton's advice on American Negro firms; his interests even extended to introducing the best Negro fashions to Uganda - a request that Moton, in an unusual role, met by sending Negro Ladies' Fashion Magazines to the Young Baganda.

There is an earlier suggestion of economic Pan-Africanism which might well repay research: the Rev. Prince U.Kaba Rega, claiming to be a native of Bunyoro, Uganda and a world-traveller, fluent in nine European languages, was in 1918 putting forward a scheme to Dr. Moton for purchasing a steamship. This gentleman, with his American headquarters in California and his African centre claimed as being Ajiji, British East Africa, allegedly led the Ethiopian Enterland Interdenominational Missionary Society, (correspondence in RRM.GC.1919.TUA.).

examine Thuku's image of Tuskegee, especially as his was a not uncommon attitude among African nationalists.

It appears that Thuku was as much impressed by Tuskegee's seeming independence and self-sufficiency as by anything else. This factor struck very relevantly at his own dependent position, where he relied so heavily upon the co-operation of his Indian associates for printing, publications and the wording of his official papers. He would almost certainly have read some of the Tuskegee publications channelled through Kamulegeya,⁶² all printed at the Tuskegee Institute Press, and would have remarked on Tuskegee's ability to buy land from whites, build its own plant, hire its own black staff, and be apparently beholden to no man for anything. In Kenya on the other hand, there had almost been no attempt by Africans to provide for themselves independently the benefits which distinguished most of the immigrants; and while not ungrateful for white and Indian philanthropy, Thuku jibbed at the compromises in educational and political progress that such dependence entailed:

We must frankly confess that we are not without warm friends and sincere sympathisers among European Missionaries and benevolent Indians (East Indians) to whom we owe so much of our improved life of few of us. These friends have been helping us as much as they can, and in their own way; but with all this, we are convinced that this is totally inadequate and insufficient to dispel our present illiteracy and ignorance we have steeped in and to safeguard our position as human beings or to avert the impending danger which seems so imminent to our view.⁶³

62. H. Thuku to the Secretary of Tuskegee Institute, 8 September 1921, (RRM.GC.1921.TUA) mentions that he had read 'books and newspapers' dealing with Negro conditions in the States (See further Appendix V for Thuku's letter).

63. Ibid.

Thuku was, in his admiration of Tuskegee, unaware of the very considerable compromises by which Washington and later Moton had gained enviable financial security in exchange for far-reaching social, political and educational concessions to the white North and South. And, in this ignorance, Tuskegee undoubtedly appeared as an island of black defiance to the folkways of the South, or, as Thuku put it, 'our asylum where the hunted down-trodden and oppressed Negro may hasten to seek for help or advice in all times of danger'.⁶⁴ Thuku was not the first to attach to Tuskegee this important mythical element of independence,⁶⁵ and the obstinacy with which such a view would keep returning was to prove only one of the difficulties Dr. Jesse Jones would encounter in preaching his own image of Tuskegee throughout Africa.⁶⁶

But beyond the apparent independence and self-sufficiency of Tuskegee, there lay the attraction of its educational process, which assured a large supply of leaders, teachers and skilled men. This educational machinery seemed to be completely lacking to Thuku as he surveyed the twenty years of 'petty efforts' by the Kenya Government in education, whose purpose was 'ostensibly to impart technical and elementary education to the natives but at an expense totally disproportionate to the revenue extracted from them'.⁶⁷ There was the almost complete lack of skilled professionals among the Africans to break the circle of miseducation for themselves,

64. Ibid.

65. See chapter I, references 57-62.

66. See chapter VIII, passim.

67. H. Thuku to the Secretary of Tuskegee, as reference 62 above.

and the only remedy seemed to Thuku, the acquisition of exactly those 'imported' Negroes that Northey had the previous year proscribed:

We suffer beyond imagination from the want of such men and leaders of our own race to guide us in every walk of life, and the result is that our progress in the sphere of Trade Industry Agriculture and the last but not the least important politics is seriously hampered ...

The necessity therefore of having our own man - a skinsman brother, and a leader, who has devoted his life and renounced everything for the elevation and up-lifting of a primitive race like ours, which is even now scarcely free from the shackles of the slavery days will be too obvious for further elaboration. It gives me the greatest pleasure to learn that despite the stubborn adverse evil influences the Negro race in America has been successful in producing many large hearted men like Booker T. Washington and establishing Institutes like the Tuskegee. We regard such man as our saviours Such being the feeling I am therefore anxious to be informed if a Booker T. Washington or a Du Bois can be spared for founding a "Tuskegee" in the African wilds and for the holy Mission of up-lifting and emancipating the hopeless, hapless struggling 3,000,000 nude Native souls from deep ignorance, object porvity, and grinding oppression of the white settlers of this Colony of Kenya.⁶⁸

The apparently anomalous suggestion that Dr. DuBois should found a 'Tuskegee' is not such a contradiction as it first seems, when it is remembered not only that Thuku would consider the establishment to be an act of defiance, but also in the light of his refusal to countenance internecine strife among black people.⁶⁹

It is just as likely that Thuku might have suggested Garvey as a possible founder of an independent black school, for he had communicated with him the same day as he had with

68. Ibid.

69. See reference 30.

Moton. And it is probable that if Thuku, in his letter to Garvey, had written in the same vein as he had to Dr. Moton, he would have found a ready response; he had asked Garvey 'for an advice and help'⁷⁰ and it is doubtful if Garvey would have withheld either. Indeed, it was shortly after that date that the Negro World began to enter the country in small numbers.⁷¹ And it is an interesting speculation, therefore, whether it was the exposure to this new type of Negro journalism, very different in tone from that of The Crisis and the New York Age, that gave Thuku the stimulus to begin issuing his own radical broadsheet, TANGAZO, whose circulation understandably very soon caused considerable unrest.⁷²

How frequent communication between the two organisations was cannot yet be known with any certainty. But in addition to the process of direct correspondence, there was further publicity given to Garvey's programme by Daudi Basudde. He was, like Thuku, an ex-telephone operator, and had been removed in 1920 from his post in Maseno School for inciting the pupils to strike over the change in Kenya's status from protectorate to colony.⁷³ During the next year he had gone to England for just eleven days during September, and had come back full of the significance of Garveyism for Africa. Strong

70. H. Thuku to J.R. Kamulegeya, 9 September 1921, in Northey to Churchill, 4 May 1922, C.O. 533/277, Public Record Office.

71. Ibid.

72. See reference 32.

73. J.M. Lonsdale, 'Archdeacon Owen and the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association', (East African Institute of Social Research). Proceedings of the E.A.S.I.R. Conference held at Kivukoni College, Dar es Salaam, January 1963, p.4.

circumstantial evidence would make it very likely that he would have made contact on his return with both Thuku and Kamulegeya, especially as he was to use the pages of Sekanyolya to give publicity to his impressions; it could not have but given a stimulus to both men to hear of the effect Garvey's might was having upon the Europeans:

He (Marcus Garvey) is who is the head of the wonderful group which exists today, which has a membership of close on five millions. It has under consideration the questions of Africa for the Blacks and is called the "Universal Negro Improvement Association". It is convinced that the four hundred million Blacks in the world will undoubtedly acquire a Kingdom in their land of Africa. This man Garvey, the work which he has done cause all people to be afraid and the fame of him will spread to all lands. When I left he was about to visit in England and in Paris in France.⁷⁴

That something beyond a formal relationship existed between Garvey's U.N.I.A. and Thuku's East African Association, however, is suggested by the very tone of Garvey's reaction to Thuku's arrest and the subsequent shooting of 25 Africans protesting his detention. It must thus to the Colonial Office that considered Garvey to be not 'much concerned with the primitive natives of Kenya'⁷⁵ have come as something of a shock four days after the protest meeting to receive the following by telegram:

Four hundred million Negroes through the Universal Negro Improvement Association hereby register their protest against the brutal manner in which your government has treated the Natives of Kenya East Africa. You

74. Translation by W.E. Owen of part of Reported interview in Sekanyolya with Daudi Basudde; the excerpt is from the January 1922 edition of that paper, (Indians in Kenya file, Edinburgh House). It seems likely that Basudde may have confused the imminent Pan-African Congress of DuBois with Garvey. The latter's world tour was not projected until 1923.

75. Minutes on C.O. 533/290, m.i. 13520, 20 March 1922, Public Record Office.

have shot down a defenseless people in their own land for exercising their rights as men; such a policy will only tend to aggravate the many historic injustices heaped upon a race that will one day be placed in a position to truly defend itself not with mere sticks, clubs and stones but with the modern implements of science. Again we ask you and your Government to be just to our race for surely we shall not forget you. The evolutionary scale that weighs nations and races, balances alike for all people. We feel sure that some day the balance will register a change.⁷⁶

An issue common to both Kamulegeya's and Thuku's relationship with American Negroes was their demand for personal guidance in educational and agricultural development at the hands of their Negro brethren. And in both cases no American-Negro came. While it would be wrong to suggest that there were necessarily any factors militating against these particular requests, other than the lack of a favourable reaction on the part of Tuskegee, it does introduce one of the most delicate and explosive subjects of the inter-war years. - The American Negro missionary or educator to Africa. It was one of the areas most frequently discussed, but where the evidence was almost always circumstantial. As neither Governments nor white missionary societies wished to practise overt discrimination against Negro missionaries qua Negroes, there tended to be an absence of definite rulings for or against Negro missionaries in general and a preference for judging cases according to their individual merits. This understandably led to a high level of suspicion if Negroes felt themselves to have been rejected unfairly. But precisely

76. Garvey to Lloyd George, 20 March 1922, 533/290, Public Record Office. Cf. also, Amy Jacques Garvey (compiler), Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey (First published, New York, 1923. This edition, "Cass" reprint, London, 1967), part I, p.43.

because evidence of discrimination was almost unattainable, and what little there was would not be readily vouchsafed to those most eager to find it, the area was scored with rumours and protracted ill feelings against those most suspected of frustrating the Negro's legitimate mission. If, for instance, in Kenya and Uganda there were no Negro missionaries between the two world wars,⁷⁷ even the most determined investigator might have found it difficult to explain that this was necessarily the result of discriminatory policies; for, on the one hand, many of the East African missionaries would openly encourage Negro students to awake to their missionary responsibilities in Africa;⁷⁸ on the other, it was hard to determine whether any candidates had come forward and, if they had, whether they had been adequately qualified. It was further well known that many American Negro students had not the slightest interest in the missionaries' continued appeals to realise their obligation in Africa.⁷⁹ Yet despite the necessary sketchiness of the primary sources, the subject must bear further investigation, if for no other reason than because two most distinguished Negro scholars continued over a period of twenty years to

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77. This is excluding the American Negro wife of Ernest Kalibala, Alta W. Jones, whose independent school in Uganda was sponsored by the Negro Baptists at the very end of the thirties; see Chapter VIII, reference 134.
78. Especially relevant was J.W. Arthur's speech at Tuskegee; see chapter VII, reference 82; also, J.W.C. Dougall's speech at Hampton; see chapter VI, reference 23.
79. Major Walter Brown who has been continuously on the staff of Hampton Institute from the early 1920s, describes the atmosphere when Hampton was being inundated with missionaries asking that the opportunity be taken by the students to raise Africa; a common feeling among students was to answer 'I ain't lost nothing in Africa', to the question 'Why don't you give your life and go to Africa?' (May, 1967).

believe that opportunities for Negro mission had been deliberately reduced by white agencies, and that Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones bore partial responsibility.

Max Yergan's attempted entry as International Y.M.C.A. secretary to East Africa was a case in point; it had involved a large number of different individuals and organisations - the English National Council of the Y.M.C.A. and its American equivalent, the Secretary of the British Conference of Missionary Societies, the Colonial Office, the Kenya Government. Only Yergan and the Coloured Y.M.C.A. of America who were to support him knew nothing of the Governor's interdiction. The next year, however, the Yergan entry to South Africa was to become a cause célèbre, and engender the bitterest suspicions of the Negro communities in the States, uniting in the process the resentment of Dr. DuBois, Dr. Carter Woodson, and Tuskegee.

After the Kenya rebuff, the English National Council had entered into negotiations with the Y.M.C.A. of South Africa to accept Yergan. Progress had been made easy through Yergan's substantial record of service in East Africa, and arrangements were reaching completion for his initiating Y.M.C.A. work among native South Africans, when an unforeseen blockage occurred. Oswin Bull, the General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Capetown had suddenly become more dubious about the project. This was partly, as Bull saw it, because the climate in South Africa as a whole had been becoming more hostile to American Negroes through the 'egregious antics of Martin Garvie (sic)',⁸⁰ but that there was a more particular reason

80. O. Bull to J.R. Mott, 18 February 1921, box 67, World Service, Foreign Work, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York.

was revealed confidentially to John Mott, General Secretary of the International Committee of Y.M.C.A.s:

My own personal hesitancy is perhaps increased by conversation in the past few days with Dr. Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and also Dr. Loram.... I find him (Loram) exceedingly doubtful about lending support to the matter of inviting Yergan. He does not know the man of course and it is possible that he is influenced in part by Dr. Jesse Jones, who is apparently a little bit doubtful about the attitude of Moreland and your other Coloured Y.M.C.A. leaders and (perhaps for⁸¹ want of knowing him better) classes Yergan with them.

Dr. Jones at this point in early 1921 had just entered South Africa on the first Phelps-Stokes Commission and had been travelling with Dr. Loram of the Native Affairs Commission, who had substantial influence in Government circles and was widely regarded as the authority on native education. When the issue of Yergan's entry had been broached, Loram had sought Jones' intimate knowledge of American Negro leadership, and had been convinced that it would be wise first to 'make sure of Mr. Yergan's belief in and practice of co-operation'.⁸² In fact Jones had communicated to both Loram and Bull his own classification of Negroes, and in his own desire to ensure that the South African Y.M.C.A. started on satisfactory lines, had explained that the Coloured Y.M.C.A. in America was composed of both the 'Pan-African Negro with a violent antipathy to co-operation with white people', and 'the co-operative type, that realises that progress has got to be made in co-operation, not in antagonism'.⁸³

81. Ibid.

82. T.J. Jones to Miss I. Tourtellot, 19 June 1921, (RRM.GC. 1921, TUA.).

83. E.C. Carter to Oswin Bull, 26 July 1921, box 67, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York.

He pleaded for time to find out which Yergan was, and set in motion machinery to do this; Moton of Tuskegee was cabled for his opinion;⁸⁴ once Aggrey had rejoined the Commission after his journey in Angola, he too was sounded.⁸⁵ Meanwhile J.H. Oldham had taken advantage of being in New York to prosecute his own inquiries into Yergan's record from the Phelps-Stokes Fund.⁸⁶ The result was, naturally enough, that the most complete endorsement of Yergan was eventually received which placed him 'in the front rank of sane and wise leaders' in America.⁸⁷ But in the interval Dr. Jones had certainly been prepared to counsel delay; he had suggested to Dr. Bridgeman, a leading missionary of the American Board in Johannesburg, that the issue might be the safer for his own personal investigation of Yergan after the Phelps-Stokes tour, and in a matter of such dispute his words were significant:

Dr. Jones' final word was - 'Can't you let the matter lie over until my return to America when I can go into the question with those interested there?' I now think it advisable to conform to this suggestion, if possible. While Dr. Jones did not say so, I assume that he would not wish his opinion to come to the ear of our negro brethren.⁸⁸

This was, however, precisely what happened, and somehow the Coloured Y.M.C.A. became acquainted with the contents of Oswin Bull's original letter revealing Dr. Jones' role in

84. See reference 82.

85. See reference 83 above.

86. I. Tourtellot to R.R. Moton, 23 May 1921 (RRM.GC.1921.TUA.).

87. T.J. Jones to Miss Tourtellot, *ibid.*

88. Cornelius Patton to E.C. Jenkins, 7 May 1921, Box 67, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York.

the matter.⁸⁹ To the Coloured Y.M.C.A. and Yergan in particular this must have appeared exactly the sort of subtle pressure that they may well have suspected had operated in Yergan's not finally going to East Africa. There they had had no evidence; but with this letter before them, their frustration exploded.

Yergan felt bound to explain the delay in his mission to those most intimately bound up with assuring his financial support and in doing so he raised the broader issue of Dr. Jones' categorisation of Negroes into safe and unsafe. The implication of Dr. Jones' action was that any Negro applicant for the Mission field must be assumed to be dangerous until proved innocent:

It is easy to see how the added opposition of Thomas Jesse Jones caused the Government to take the position it did. I might add here that this man Jones is attempting to do in Africa precisely what it is claimed he did in America, namely, to assign all colored people to one of the two so-called "schools" and then to say that those of one of these "schools" cannot undertake to minister to the needs of the race. But his action goes further, for it will tend to prevent any colored man serving in a missionary capacity in Africa.⁹⁰

The repercussions of what seemed the blatant prejudging of this pioneer missionary spread out through the Negro world. Tuskegee, with its current strong interest in the American Negro obligation to Africa,⁹¹ had been one of the earliest to protest, and certainly the African representatives of the Tuskegee Y.M.C.A.⁹² (which included Daniel Kato) helped shape

89. The most likely explanation would be that the South African Government in turning down Yergan revealed something of the personalities involved.

90. Max Yergan to J.J. Rhoads, 22 April 1921 (RRM.GC.1921.TUA).

91. See further chapter VIII.

92. Ibid.

the indignant note to John Mott, even before the leakage.

The delay of Mr. Max Yergan's sail for service as missionary secretary among our brothers in Africa, is causing great concern among the NINE HUNDRED young men who constitute the student membership of the Tuskegee Association ... Most especially do we covet our "birthright of privilege" to make our distinct contribution toward the salvation of Africa; and we want to be acquainted with the barriers which are delaying your plans for the African work.⁹³

It came also to the attention of Dr. Carter G. Woodson, the founder and director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and seemed to him to be the extension to Africa of the white control which he believed interfered with so much of Negro uplift work in the States. Again much importance must be attached to the extremity of the charges urged against Jones, as they indicate how widespread suspicions of white manipulation must have been before this particular snippet of evidence came their way. The incident is the only explanation of why the scholarly objectivity of his History of the Negro Church is interrupted that same year by a single page of unscholarly invective on the subject of white selection methods: 'His business now', he concludes his sketch there of Jones, 'seems to be that of furnishing the world with "handpicked" Negro leaders to damn even the Natives of Africa'.⁹⁴

It no longer mattered exactly how much weight Jones' intervention had had on the decision of the South African Government; it was sufficient that he had urged the greatest

93. Tuskegee Students' Y.M.C.A. to John R. Mott, 31 March 1921, (RRM.GC.1921.TUA.). Yergan had been lecturing in Tuskegee shortly before this letter of protest.

94. C.G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, 1921), p.309.

caution; and if, so DuBois and Woodson argued, he was culpable in the African arena, was it not a priori likely that he had been even more active than they had suspected in Negro welfare organisations, and had used similar methods. DuBois thus used the occasion to demonstrate how this was only the culmination of years of activity by Jones, during which Negro college presidents, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and other welfare workers had been selected and rejected on the advice of one white man.⁹⁵ And if many of the charges would be impossible to prove, both DuBois and Woodson felt sure that the handpicking of Yergan was simply an extension of the monopoly Jones had held over Y.M.C.A. appointments after World War One.⁹⁶

By this time the mythical elements in the case were as strongly held as those admitting of some proof, and more than this, the whole reputation of the Phelps-Stokes Report on West and South Africa was at stake in this test case of its Chairman's attitude to the Negro. Not surprisingly both Jones and Loram went to considerable trouble now to have the

95. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Thomas Jesse Jones', The Crisis, xxii, No.6, October 1921, pp.254-256.

96. Dr. Jones had been largely responsible for the selection of 12 Y.M.C.A. men, 'absolutely reliable people', to prevent the further deterioration of the Negro troops' morale at the end of the War into possible racial violence, and in this effort had been prepared to send the late Booker Washington's wife to France also. He had only abandoned this latter notion when he realised that they would be playing too conspicuously into the hands of the Negro radicals; they would be able to demonstrate that 'the War Department and Tuskegee are in league to persuade the Negro to be submissive'. T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 13.12.19: 29.3.19: 8.3.19; (RRM.GC.1919. TUA.). There is evidence in this correspondence that Jesse Moorland objected to Jones' intervention. This led to the difficulties with Moorland which Bull had referred to in reference 80 above.

decision of the South African Government reversed, and to reassure their white and Negro constituencies that the misunderstanding had been cleared up.⁹⁷ Their combined pressure achieved this on July 13th 1921, and Yergan sailed at last for Capetown in November.⁹⁸ But in view of the fact that Yergan was seriously considering attending DuBois' Second Pan-African Congress two days before the ban was withdrawn,⁹⁹ it is an interesting speculation what might have been the result for Yergan of the embargo remaining.¹⁰⁰ Despite its satisfactory settlement, the incident would leave many raw nerves, and long after Yergan's work in South Africa was actually receiving financial aid from the Phelps-Stokes Fund itself,¹⁰¹ it would remain an emotional reference point in Negro memory.¹⁰²

The controversy had blown up not because Dr. Jones had wished to practise exclusion of Negro missionaries in general, but through his passionate conviction that Negro missionaries could be found who might have the same improving effect upon

97. That the incident had left adverse impressions on white Y.M.C.A. members as well is shown by E.C. Carter's comments, after the ban had been lifted, to E.C. Jenkins, 30 July 1921 (box 67, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library.): 'Jones has done a great work in Africa on this trip - But it strikes me he is about 20 years behind the times in some things. I don't think he really trusts and believes in the coloured people to the extent a man in his position should'.

98. Yergan to R.R. Moton, 26 November, 1921, (RRM.GC.1920.TUA).

99. Yergan to E.C. Jenkins, 11 July, 1921, box 68, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York.

100. For Yergan's eventual break with the co-operative approach to South Africa, 15 years later, see Yergan to F.V. Slack, 6 March 1936, file E-3, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York.

101. T.J. Jones to Yergan, 11 April 1927, file E-3, Phelps-Stokes Fund.

102. C.G. Woodson, 'Thomas Jesse Jones', Journal of Negro History, xxxv, January 1950, pp.107-109.

white governments' stereotypes of Negroes as Aggrey had been having during the Commission's journeys. It was his intention to facilitate the placing of Negroes of Aggrey's type in Africa, but the process demanded a greater polarisation of Negroes into two sharply and readily distinguishable categories than was either feasible or realistic.

Jones certainly bore some responsibility for transferring to the African context his concept of the American Negro in a dualistic universe, where the forces of Co-operation battled with those of Protest. At stake in America were the Negro organisations, from the Y.M.C.A. to the Negro churches, to the Negro colleges, and their chief threat in Jones' mind was DuBois and the N.A.A.C.P., as he explained confidentially to John Mott:

Their (N.A.A.C.P.) policy is avowedly that of protest. It is therefore natural that they should endeavor to capture the colored leadership and the colored organisations for their program. While we cannot condemn them for their efforts, it seems to me it is the duty of those of us who are interested in the constructive and co-operative programs of such institutions as the schools and the churches to avoid entangling alliances with organisations whose primary functions are protest.¹⁰³

Dr. Jones conceived of the struggle for Africa no differently, except that there Marcus Garvey could be as potent an opponent as DuBois' Pan-Africanism. Nor is there any evidence that his interest in communicating this, for him, crucial division between the Negro wings diminished as the result of the Yergan affair. As both Dr. Jones and Dr. DuBois were in England in August 1921,¹⁰⁴ each winning support for their own view of Africa's highest needs, Dr. Jones might well

103. T.J. Jones to J.R. Mott, 20 February 1920, (RRM.GC. 1920, TUA).

104. Jones had just returned from the Phelps-Stokes West Africa Commission, and DuBois was preparing for the Second Pan-African Congress.

have felt added incentive to put the case for Tuskegeeism in Africa to those many missionaries and other influential officials he met. Indeed, to at least two leading authorities on Kenya, Handley Hooper of the Church Missionary Society,¹⁰⁵ and Norman Leys,¹⁰⁶ a most astringent critic of white Kenya, Dr. Jones seems to have presented in the summer of 1921 a strong case for Tuskegee's relevance to racial problems in Africa.

The next year these conversations with Dr. Jones jolted back into Hooper's mind when he saw evidence in Harry Thuku's papers 'of correspondence with Marcus Garvey and his lieutenants',¹⁰⁷ and the notion that the Phelps-Stokes Fund might, in alliance with Tuskegee, counter this threat was now pressing:

You may remember that I urged you to get the Tuskegee folk to embark upon some form of literary propaganda which might be used out here to familiarise the natives with the ideals of that particular school, before they were prejudiced by the reports of other negro associations.¹⁰⁸

White missionaries, Hooper realised, would not be very effective agents of Tuskegeeism on their own; he proceeded to imply that there might be a need to employ Tuskegee-type Negroes themselves if an organisation was to be established in Kenya adequate to counteract the efforts of radical American Negroes.¹⁰⁹

105. H.D. Hooper's Leading Strings (C.M.S. London) was written this year; see reference 137 below.

106. For Norman Leys, see further chapter V reference 27 ff.

107. H.D. Hooper to J.H. Oldham, 10 August 1922, East Africa, Kenya file, Edinburgh House.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

Thus the issue returned to the fact that Garvey's and DuBois' propaganda could make Negro missionaries both more desirable but more minutely scrutinised for flaws than ever before.

The Negro missionary question would clearly soon have to be debated within the Conference of British Missionary Societies and its American partner, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. And it was no accident that close attention should begin to be paid to the subject in the year of the Yergan explosion; in September 1921, action was taken by the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference to set up a committee to study the problems connected with the appointment of Negro missionaries to Africa.¹¹⁰ Dr. Oldham, who was in attendance ex officio, made the interesting comment that the Phelps-Stokes journey of Jones and Aggrey could conceivably have the effect of facilitating entry by American Negroes of 'a certain type';¹¹¹ but on the larger issues of missionary policy on the question he favoured postponing radical decisions for two years, until the meeting of the International Missionary Council. The committee appointed did, however, submit its report which beyond asking for a fuller investigation had concluded that 'the problem is by no means an easy or a simple one'.¹¹²

Pressures were beginning to build up which would make it difficult indefinitely to shelve the matter, and not only

110. Minutes of meeting of September 22, 1921, Committee of Reference and Counsel, of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Division of World Mission and Evangelism, Interchurch Centre, New York City.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid., minute of December 8th, 1921.

from American Negroes; Africans too were lending their weight to the same cause. Aggrey had been touring the Southern Negro colleges in the autumn of 1921 and turning the students' minds to African mission; he urged them to consider Yergan's departure as 'an entry wedge'¹¹³ to the continent, and reminded them that the time had come 'when black people themselves ought to do something'. Further the African Student Union of America was taking up the issue of its American Negro Brethren at the World Student Federation Conference at Peking, and pointing out firmly how the present closed door policy was a contradiction of that Christianity which the Europeans had brought them.¹¹⁴

In the end a move was forced on the missionary societies by Governor Coryndon, now of Kenya, who, on receiving a routine Colonial Office circular on missionaries, made the proviso that no Negro missionaries be admitted to Kenya.¹¹⁵ This move in itself was no more than a corollary of the Governor's earlier embargo on his African students going to Negro colleges, but it was, he admitted, additionally influenced by the American Negro aspect of the Chilembwe rising, and the potential for subversion which the Thuku incident had demonstrated among the Kenyans.¹¹⁶

113. J.E.K. Aggrey, speech to Hampton students, October 1921, preserved in Monroe Work's special file on "The Negro", 1921, TUA.

114. C.H. Tobias, 'Young Men's Christian Associations in American Negro Colleges', The Student World, xvi, April, 1923, No.2, pp.60-61.

115. R.T. Coryndon to Devonshire, 19 February, 1923, C.O.533/293, Gov. 14139, Public Record Office.

116. Ibid: "I am strongly averse from allowing any opportunity for the introduction or propagation of the undesirable doctrines which culminated in disturbances in Nyasaland during the war".

The Colonial Office naturally had to seek authorisation from the British Conference of Missionary Societies for Coryndon's new policy, and they were relieved to find its secretary, J.H. Oldham, 'quite sympathetic', as they had anticipated.¹¹⁷ Oldham wished to do for the religious sphere what Jones had attempted in the political sphere - make a distinction between 'negroes trained at Tuskegee or under Booker Washington influences, and those trained in schools in which the Christianity taught was purely of the Psalm singing, prayer-meeting variety'.¹¹⁸ The former might be valuable for West Africa, the latter, Oldham felt, should be banned from Africa entirely, and, for the moment, even the Tuskegee type should be excluded from Kenya. As to the best means to achieve the Governor's wishes for Kenya, it was felt wisest to avoid governmental decree but to leave it to the missionary societies to effect in their own way; Oldham would ensure that his American counterpart, Fennell P. Turner, 'damped down any movement in the direction of sending Negro missionaries to East Africa',¹¹⁹ at any rate until the matter had been more fully discussed by the International Missionary Council later in the year. In explaining the policy to Turner, Oldham continued to keep the door open for the eventual use of the Tuskegee category:

I said I was certain that the missionary societies both in Great Britain and America were fully alive to the difficulties involved and that there would be no disposition to press proposals which the Government would find embarrassing. The problem is, How to secure

117. Ibid., minute on Despatch.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

the safeguards which the Government requires in the way which will least give rise to objection and criticism and will not bar negroes trained at Tuskegee when Colonial Governments are willing to avail themselves of the help of this kind of negro, as I believe they are in West Africa.¹²⁰

This policy lasted until July 1923, when advantage was taken of Turner's presence for the International Missionary Council Conference¹²¹ to call a meeting of Oldham, Turner, Bottomley of the Colonial Office and Governor Coryndon to work out a policy for the longer term. Negro missionaries manifestly could not simply be treated as prohibited immigrants, as had been done with Marcus Garvey's application to come to Kenya in May 1923.¹²² The issue must be arranged more diplomatically. Yet it is revealing in this situation, and in the light of American Negro suspicions of this period, what concessions the Secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America was prepared to make to Coryndon's stand. Turner volunteered to inform all the recognised missionary societies that Negro missionaries for Kenya would not be welcome, and for the unrecognised societies, he would readily have his committee take the position that they 'could not be regarded as equal to the responsibility of looking after negro

120. J.H. Oldham to F.P. Turner, 27 March 1923, C.O.533/305, c.o. 16050, Public Record Office.

121. No mention of the Negro missionary question is apparent in Basil Mathews, 'The Agenda of Cooperation: a Sketch of the Meeting of the International Missionary Council (Oxford, July 9-16, 1923)', International Review of Missions, xii, 1923, pp.481-496. There was, however, cautious approval given to Negro missionaries working in Africa, during the session of the I.M.C.; see minutes of 16th July, 1923, in Minutes of International Missionary Council (Edinburgh House Library). Such approval must be reconsidered in the light of the meeting at the Colonial Office three days later, see reference 123, below.

122. Note on Despatch destroyed by statute, Gov. 32018, 29 May 1923, Public Record Office.

missionaries'.¹²³ It could therefore be arranged for any such applications to be turned down by the Passport Central Office in New York in collaboration with himself. Presented with such a readiness to co-operate, Governor Coryndon realised that his object could be achieved without the colonial government making a specific ruling. And with the proviso, presumably due to Oldham, that the 'best type of negro missionaries (e.g. the "Tuskegee" type)',¹²⁴ could be entertained for Kenya, he felt that any public and formal discouragement of Negroes such as Turner had offered was both unnecessary and potentially dangerous to Kenya's good name. Coryndon thus having absolved himself of any discriminatory legislation, 'was well content to leave the matter to Mr. Turner's good offices in individual cases ... without any reference to the Colonial Government's wishes'.¹²⁵ It was a serious concession that had been made by the North American Secretary, for he had assumed total answerability for interpreting the Governor's wishes. And even though the so-called Tuskegee type was a specific exception to general policy, the result of adopting this distinction of Jesse Jones and Oldham would inevitably be to make the Tuskegee missionary a more unobtainable object than ever. Nor would the visit of Aggrey the next year to Kenya help to lessen the mythical nature of the Tuskegee missionary and make him more realisable.¹²⁶ Aggrey's

123. Minutes of meeting, 19 July 1923, C.O. 533/305, C.O. 16050, Public Record Office.

124. W.C. Bottomley to J.H. Oldham (copy to F.P. Turner), 21 July 1923, archives of Committee of Reference and Counsel, Division of World Mission and Evangelism, Interchurch Centre, New York.

125. Ibid.

126. See chapter VII, references 66, 67.

quite remarkable intelligence and co-operativeness would increase the demand for such a Negro and simultaneously create more unapproachable qualifications.

Exactly how Turner used his extremely influential and delicate position in judging Negro missionary applications, not only for Kenya, but for all African countries is not known. Certainly, however, during these early 1920s the agencies such as the Stewart Missionary Foundation, most intimately connected with sending Negro missionaries to Africa, noted with some incredibility the gap between the professions of European missionaries on the subject and the manifest difficulty in practice of entering Africa; Dr. Martin commented on the anomalies of the situation from the Foundation's point of view in the very month when policy lines were being worked out in London:

Dr. James Henderson (of Lovedale) on tour in America is reported as saying in a series of addresses he has delivered in this country that there is an open door for the American Negro workers, who are well trained as teachers, and social workers and similar callings, on the continent of Africa. We rejoice in this good word of promise to the ambitious student in America who is committed to the uplift and redemption of Africa. We have not found it quite so easy for our people to gain access to Africa ... for an American Negro however well prepared to find access to the schools of Africa as a teacher, or to enter the continent as a preacher, Y.M.C.A. worker or in any form of social uplift work has been understood as a difficult undertaking. May a new and better day of privilege soon come.¹²⁷

Even if it was scarcely an open door policy that the missionary societies had been developing with Government, Dr. Jones and Dr. Oldham were now under some obligation to show the worth of their sharp distinctions between Negroes.

127. D.D. Martin, in The Foundation, July/August number, 1923, Inter-denominational Theological Centre, Atlanta, Georgia.

Nor would occasions be lacking. For in both Uganda and Kenya, progressive missionaries would be sufficiently impressed by Aggrey's co-operative brilliance to demand American Negroes of his type for their own work. Oldham proceeded to explain to Jones one of these schemes suggested by a C.M.S. missionary to Uganda; the combination of caution with the disinclination to initiate the scheme in Kenya may well imply the continuing force of Coryndon's policy:

I think you are agreed that we must do something to bring about the co-operation of the American coloured people in the uplift of the African race; and are also agreed that the experiment can succeed only if it is made under the most favourable conditions ... I am inclined to think however that the experiment could be made much more hopefully in the beginning under missionary than under Government auspices and that Uganda is a more favourable field than Kenya ... The relation of the coloured community in America to Africa is a matter of such magnitude, importance and difficulty that it deserves the best thought that we can give to it.¹²⁸

As it is the issue of the Negro missionary as a general policy difficulty of the European and American Boards that is under consideration at the moment, the detailed obstacles peculiar to some of these schemes may be deferred until after the Phelps-Stokes Commission in East Africa has been examined. Clearly, however, much more thought had now to be given in Oldham's view to marking out some legitimate place for the American Negro in Africa. And it was fortunate that a convenient occasion was approaching in the 1926 Le Zoute Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa. Both Jesse Jones and Oldham were on the Business Committee of this conference and it may be assumed were pre-eminently responsible

128. J.H. Oldham to T.J. Jones, 4 June 1925, file 314, Edinburgh House. (now Geneva, World Council Archives).

for the appointment of a strong committee of thirty four leading figures from missions, Government and philanthropy, who might give the subject their fullest attention. The concern of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in the problem found forceful representation in the Committee: Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes was chairman, and other members of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions serving were A.W. Wilkie, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Dr. C.T. Loram and Dr. Dillard. Also important were J.H. Oldham and Sir Frederick Lugard, and by a nice juxtaposition, the Colonial Secretary of Kenya, E.B. Denham, and Max Yergan.

While the entire two pages of findings and recommendations are a highly significant commentary on the topic, certain features are particularly relevant in view of what has been seen of the informal agreements between governments and mission secretaries.¹²⁹ First, it was claimed that the present difficulties were derived either from the obstacles placed in the Negroes' way by African Governments, or by the unsatisfactory results of some American Negroes in Africa.¹³⁰ There was no suggestion that white mission boards might in any way bear partial responsibility. So far from even hinting at this, there was included, as one of the chief recommendations, a proposal that Negroes be increasingly required to go out to Africa 'under the auspices of responsible societies of recognised and well-established standing'.¹³¹

129. E.W. Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa: a study based on the proceedings of the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium. September 14th to 21st, 1926. (London, 1926), pp.122-124.

130. Ibid., pp.122-123.

131. Ibid., p.124.

In addition to thus proposing that Negroes should generally work through responsible societies, any Negro missionary society applying to initiate work in Africa, should similarly be encouraged to channel its work through a society of longer standing, and should direct its special attention to the unevangelised districts. The committee recognised that these recommendations were an incomplete and unsatisfactory series of steps along a complex road; they had made concessions to governmental fears of independent Negro missionaries operating in Africa, and in doing so had possibly made it more rather than less hard to serve as a Negro missionary, for there would now be additional and complex decisions on salary and status involved in serving within the framework of a well established white Society.

If the Le Zoute Conference had not produced a charter for the American Negro's mission in Africa, and had reached its conclusions without self-criticism, there was clearly nothing tactfully guarded in the study that DuBois felt compelled to make on the subject some two years later.¹³² Of the 'responsible societies of recognised and well-established standing',¹³³ that the Le Zoute conference had referred to as preferable vehicles for American Negro service, DuBois revealed, as the result of a questionnaire, that 'among 793 missionaries sent out by the United Presbyterian; the United Missionary Society; the United Brethren; the African Inland Mission;

132. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Missionaries', The Crisis, xxxvi, No.5, May 1929, p.168.

133. See reference 131 above.

the Southern Baptists; the Women's General Missionary Society of the U.P.C.; the Lutherans; the Sudan Interior Mission; there is not a single American Negro'.¹³⁴ These figures were only slightly less startling for the Boards which did have some tradition of engaging Negroes; but considering that it was very largely these boards which had drawn up the recommendations of the Le Zoute committee for a deliberate drive to encourage Negro missionaries, little progress appears to have been made in the three years.¹³⁵

DuBois might be relied on to put the most extreme construction on such a delicate issue; but that he was not fabricating a grievance that was not more generally felt, is evidenced by Dr. Robert Moton of Tuskegee giving a large measure of practical exemplification to these findings. In answering the imputation that American Negroes, and Tuskegee in particular, had done very little to fulfil their obligation to Africa, he was able in 1930 not only to point to the positive successes that Negroes had achieved in Africa, but also the very real background of prejudice against which success had been won. Dr. Moton was by nature a cautious man, and his professional position was not one that would encourage outspoken comment. His readiness therefore to explain to a white Alabaman the normally unmentioned aspect of Negro Missions is the greater testimony to real grievance:

134. See reference 132.

135. Ibid. '... out of 158 African missionaries, the Protestant Episcopal Church has 1 American Negro; the Presbyterian 2 out of 88; the Northern Baptist 1 out of 20; the Methodist Episcopal Church 5 out of 91; the American Board 4 out of 97'.

Over against these facts is the equally significant one that the Presbyterian Church of North America has steadfastly refused to send any American Negroes, whatever their qualifications, to work in Africa though dozens of them have offered themselves for this service. It is also true that the European Governments have refused to admit American Negroes to serve as missionaries in their respective territories ... I think I am safe in saying that no other workers in Africa face such great obstacles either on the field itself or in attempting to enter the field as American Negroes, in spite of which they are found there today doing their best in as noble a spirit of self-sacrifice as any workers who have ever gone there.¹³⁶

It was mentioned earlier that when Thuku and Kamulegeya appealed to Tuskegee for American Negro educators and advisers, no answer came, or if it did, it has not survived. There may have been extremities of expression in Thuku's letter which could account for its not being attended to; and Kamulegeya's request may have seemed a little unrealistic; but besides this, there is still a strong sense in which Dr. Moton answered these letters with the words above. And some of the workings of white missionary accommodationism that have been seen in this chapter are a further part of the answer.

Those early ventures in Pan-Africanism failed to achieve their most concrete object, the introduction of American Negroes as the collaborators of the young politically minded Africans. But no failure or proscription could prevent the slowly growing consciousness of Negro unity that white prejudice had nurtured. The wiser of the missionaries in East Africa saw that these Pan-African searchings of the young Africans were modelled on the internationalism of the European and Indian communities in their midst. Handley Hooper believed such growth in articulate unified form along the colour

136. R.R. Moton to Miss Lida Robertson, 7 May, 1930, (RRM.GC.1930,TUA.).

line was inevitable, and that only one measure could prevent it from taking a dangerous turn:

Much as we may desire to isolate the several fields and problems of the negro world, the presence of the European with his world-wide interests and the Indian with his nationalistic newspapers will defeat our purpose.

West Africa, South Africa, East Africa and the negro element in America will not always remain separate entities in a black world. The interests of the negro are no longer tribal in extent, and his instincts will prompt him to seek a wider federation for his self-expression. The boundaries of this new confederacy will almost inevitably be suggested by colour. The subtle bonds of racial hope will defy the difference of local problems, and artificial political restriction. The only way to counter-act the complications which will arise is to foresee them, and to provide without delay a wise and liberal education which will minimise causes of complaint and will frustrate the mischievous machinations of self-appointed agitators.¹³⁷

There would be only three years' delay between Hooper's writing this in 1921 and the advent to Kenya of the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission; it would have many problems to face, and conflicting aims to reconcile; but there was one which might well deserve their especial attention - the aspirations of the group whose educational ambitions and political consciousness had been heightened in part by contact with the same Negro South from which the Phelps-Stokes Commission drew its inspiration.

137. H.D. Hooper, Leading Strings (C.M.S., London, 1921), pp.8-9.

CHAPTER IV

THE PHELPS-STOKES COMMISSION IN KENYA

When the West and South Africa Phelps-Stokes Commission¹ had returned to England in 1921 - and even more so after the publication of their report at the end of 1922 - a parallel commission to East Africa became the obvious sequel. Partly this was because the first Commission had supplied the facts on which missions and governments could assess their post-war objectives in education. It had also presented a new formula for African education in the phrase 'adaptation', which had found a ready response in Africa's white communities, while Aggrey had proved himself invaluable in commending it to Africans.² As important as either of these, the Commission

1. T.J. Jones, Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission (New York, 1922). The first Phelps-Stokes Commission consisted of Dr. Jesse Jones; J.E.K. Aggrey; Dr. H.S. Hollenbeck; Mr. and Mrs. Wilkie; L.A. Roy; it travelled through West, Equatorial and South Africa from September 4th 1920 till June 1921.
2. D.D.T. Jabavu, African lecturer in the South African Native College, gave an exceedingly penetrating account of Aggrey's role on this first Commission:
'His African origin was a real advantage to him for it gave him the ear of the whites who otherwise, on account of their dread of Ethiopian doctrines, are always suspicious of American Negroes; whilst it secured him the attention of the indigenous Africans who, ever since the reports of Marcus Garvey's Black Star Fleet, have had their eyes turned to overseas Negroes for succour from the prevailing economic depression as well as for liberation from the injustice of the white man in whom they are tending to lose faith. He convinced the former in a single address more effectually than any amount of argument has done in a generation, that in the British colonies and America there are Negro intellectuals who have assimilated European culture in its refined form with rational mentality; while he disillusioned the latter of the African Republic mirage, giving them instead an edifying message of self-help based on Booker Washington's principles and on Christian ethics.'
- from biographical material collected in C.H. Fahs papers, Missionary Research Library, Union Theological College, New York.N.Y.

had been travelling propaganda for interracial co-operation, since it had given considerable time to publicising Tuskegee's political relevance in several areas of acute racial tension.³ What, however, mainly assured a second Commission was the critical state of Kenya's post-war politics and its peculiarly stubborn educational conflicts. It seemed to both Jones and Oldham that there were few places where initiatives in co-operation were more needed.

With Oldham the chance of an educational commission fitted into a somewhat larger strategy. For several years now he had felt that Jones had a prescription for mission-government co-operation which could secure the place of the specifically Christian school as governments increasingly took control of education in Africa.⁴ The Report of the West Africa Commission had skilfully presented an agenda for co-operation in which the role of the mission school was described as that of 'a leavening centre' or an 'experiment station';⁵ and it was this notion of the mission school as the imaginative ally of Government in African education for which Oldham now sought official approval.

Only a few months after the West Africa Phelps-Stokes Report's publication, he had the Colonial Office suggest that he produce a working memorandum on the co-operation he

3. Cf. especially E.W. Smith's account of Aggrey in South Africa, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929), pp.164-184.

4. See chapter II, reference 114.

5. T.J. Jones, Education in Africa, p.91. For Booker Washington's earlier use of the term 'experimental station', see chapter I, ref. 70.

envisaged. The result, Educational Policy in Africa,⁶ was a closely argued defence of the mission place in any future government plans. Oldham was able to use the Phelps-Stokes Commission, which had been mission-sponsored, as his strongest card, to show missionary determination to put their house in order. He also began in this document the process of introducing some of the characteristic Phelps-Stokes emphasis into the mainstream of British Colonial education policy; for there could be little doubt to what source his suggested 'Goal of Educational Policy' could be traced:

The aims of native educational policy are first the improvement of the life of the masses of the people. This will include the giving to them a better knowledge of the nature and cultivation of the soil, of agricultural processes and of the raising of stock, the spreading among them of a better understanding of the laws of health and sanitation, the development of simple industries related to village life, the giving of a simple elementary education adapted to village conditions, the training of them in habits of industry, perseverance, honesty and thrift, and, through all these activities as well as by direct teaching, supplying them with the motives that will build up strong and stable character.⁷

The memorandum led directly to Ormsby-Gore, Undersecretary of State for the Colonies, calling a major conference of African governors, Church leaders, with Oldham and Thomas Jesse Jones in June 1923, which decided unanimously that a Colonial Office Advisory Committee on African education be

6. Educational Policy in Africa: a memorandum submitted on behalf of the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1923), copies in file, Africa-General Education (hereinafter Q-E) Edinburgh House. The preliminary discussions between J.H. Oldham and the Colonial Office are in file Q-E, Edinburgh House.

7. Ibid., p.2. Oldham explicitly pointed to the importance of Hampton and Tuskegee in another part of his memorandum, p.4.

established.⁸ Announcing the formation of this permanent committee in the House, Ormsby-Gore acknowledged that it had been largely an outgrowth of 'a most extraordinarily interesting report issued by Dr. Jesse Jones',⁹ and mentioned that an East African Educational Commission was in the planning stage.

These decisions were very opportune for Oldham, beyond the protection they offered to mission interests; Governor Coryndon of Kenya had just agreed to Dr. Jones and Aggrey reporting on education in East Africa¹⁰ in the very month that a White Paper on Indians in Kenya had set forth the doctrine that in any conflict among Kenya's mixed population, 'the interests of the African natives must be paramount'.¹¹ There would, Oldham saw, now be provided after three years' continuously hostile criticism of white Kenya's labour ordinances and Indian policy, an opportunity for its settlers and government to vindicate their reputation and display responsible trusteeship in education. Although Oldham had played a leading part in the organisation of the years of protest,¹² he had begun to believe recently that external

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8. This conference of June 6th 1923 included the Governors of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Kenya, and Nyasaland.
 9. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa: A study of East, Central and South Africa by the second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in co-operation with the International Education Board (New York, 1925), pp.xix-xx.
 10. W.C. Bottomley to J.H. Oldham, 21 May 1923, C.O. 533/305, c.o. 16050, Public Record Office, London.
 11. Indians in Kenya, Cmd. 1922 (23rd July, 1923), p.10. Oldham had himself been primarily responsible for drafting this White Paper. See Indians in Kenya correspondence in Edinburgh House; also, G. Bennett, Kenya: a political history: the Colonial Period (London, 1963), pp. 51-52.
 12. Oldham had played a most significant part in the pressure against the 1919 Labour Ordinance in Kenya. See relevant file in Edinburgh House; also Bennett, op.cit., p.44; and Norman Leys, Kenya (London, 1924), p.201.

pressure would be insufficient to solve Kenya's deep difficulties; lasting progress, he explained, to Governor Coryndon, must involve local initiatives in good will:

It has, however, become increasingly clear to me that, while the Imperial Govt. has responsibilities which it must do its best to discharge, no real solution of the problems of Kenya can be reached in London, but only in Kenya itself. The things I should like to see done for the native population, if they are to be done at all, must, I am fully convinced, be done with the assent and co-operation of the European community.¹³

Following the traditions of philanthropy in the Southern States, it was the task of the Commission to show the various sections of the European community that the interests of African and European were not necessarily antagonistic, and to win the active co-operation of the best element of the settler class to the cause of African education. For such an end the personnel of the Commission could scarcely have been improved upon.

In Dr. Dillard, President of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, and member of the General Education Board,¹⁴ there was the very potent example of the Southern gentleman wholly converted to the value of education for the Negro. His assignment in Kenya was primarily to hold informal conversations with influential settlers, in the hope that they might be edged a little way towards realising the value to themselves of African education.¹⁵ Oldham meanwhile

13. J.H. Oldham to R.T. Coryndon, 16 January 1924, file on Tanganyika-Education, in Edinburgh House.

14. Dr. Dillard's previous work in the Southern States is sympathetically told by Benjamin Brawley, Dr. Dillard of the Jeanes Fund (New York, 1930).

15. Dillard only accompanied the Commission as far as Kenya and Uganda, then left for South Africa.

reassured the Governor of Dillard's interracial tact:

It would, as you are aware, be impossible for him to retain the regard and confidence of the white South, if he had any touch of the faddist or sentimentalist. At the same time he has given much of his strength to helping the negro community and furthering their education on wise lines. He is a man who, I am certain, will commend himself to the European community in Kenya.¹⁶

Almost as important as Dillard and the strongest corroboration of his message that education need not ruin the Negro, would be J.E.K. Aggrey. If, Oldham briefed Coryndon, Aggrey's experience in South and West Africa was anything to go by, then Kenya could only benefit from his twin convictions - that education must 'begin at the bottom and not at the top,'¹⁷ and that no controversy or protest must endanger the chance of racial co-operation.¹⁸ Not that Aggrey necessarily counselled submission to white racism as a strategy in itself; rather he had worked out a philosophy of black pride in the cultural sphere, while in the more controversial areas he assumed white fair play and altruism would respond to African patience and humility. He summarised the attitude he would carry round East Africa a few days before he left America to join the Commission:

Wherever I go, I shall give this message, which I have found in the colleges and universities of this continent. A new spirit is coming throughout the South and the North. Let us be patient. You can never beat

16. J.H. Oldham to R.T. Coryndon, see reference 13 above.

17. Ibid.

18. This was of course the gospel of Booker Washington. There is at present very little direct evidence of frequent personal contact between B.T. Washington and Aggrey, although Washington did follow Aggrey's career with some interest at Livingstone College, North Carolina. See Professor F. Boaz to B.T. Washington, 30 November 1904, con. 284, Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; also E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929), p.146.

prejudice by a frontal attack, because there is mere emotion at the root of it. When there is emotion at the root of anything you cannot beat it by a frontal attack. Always flank it. You can catch more flies with molasses and sugar than you can with vinegar.¹⁹

Two further members who helped to make this Commission more weighty than the West and South Africa one were Major Hanns Vischer, the newly appointed permanent secretary of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa,²⁰ and Dr. Shantz, a leading agriculturalist in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Missionary representation was provided by Dr. Garfield Williams of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), and J.W.C. Dougall of the Free Church of Scotland, and the Commission was led by Dr. Jones, who had already been assured that Coryndon 'heartily welcomed' the tour.²¹

The Commission was, thus, very far from having a purely educational brief; it was certainly conceived of by its chief architects, Oldham and Jones, as providing a test case of

19. J.E.K. Aggrey, 'Africa', in Christian Students and World Problems. Report of the Ninth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Indianapolis, Indiana, Dec. 28th, 1923 to January 1st, 1924 (edited by Milton Stauffer), p. 173. The speech (11 pages) is invaluable for being one of the longest continuous examples of Aggrey's idiosyncratic style. (copy in the Missionary Research Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N.Y.)

Aggrey wrote to Dr. Moton before he left for Africa, 'You know of the work I have been preparing to do. I am personally desirous of connecting Africa with Tuskegee.' (J.E.K. Aggrey to R.R. Moton, 13 December 1923 (RRM.GC. 1925.TUA.)).

20. See further chapter VII, references 8-10. For Vischer's pre-Advisory Committee experience as an educationist in Northern Nigeria, see Sonia Graham, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1919, with special reference to the work of Hanns Vischer (Ibadan, 1966).

21. J.H. Oldham to Sir Herbert Read, 19 September, 1923, file Q-E, Edinburgh House. Dougall was on the point of going out to Livingstonia as a young missionary, when Oldham offered him the post of Secretary to the Commission.

Kenya's trusteeship intentions. Education was being given a mandate status and was being opened to international inspection. It seemed, moreover, possible, especially with a Parliamentary Commission to East Africa also imminent,²² that certain large concessions to Native development might be obtained, and a new advance in African education secured.²³

In Kenya itself, apart from the general issue of a mandate for African education in a white settlement country, two specific educational matters had been blowing up which had both reached crisis proportions in the month before the Commission sailed. The industrial education policy of the Department of Education and its Director had fallen into disrepute; and the whole issue of the continuance of mission schools had been thrown in the balance.

It is perhaps surprising that it should have been the Director's strongly industrial policy that was challenged by the settlers at this time, and all the more so, when this policy was deliberately constructed in imitation of Tuskegee. Nor was this Tuskegee emphasis a recent concession to Dr. Jones' well known preferences; for the policy adopted by the Director, J.R. Orr, in 1911, had even then been consciously 'based upon the excellent work of that great Negro, the late Mr. Booker Washington - a book entitled

22. Report of the East Africa Commission, Cmd. 2387 (April 1925).

23. Oldham had instructed Vischer before he left with the Commission for Kenya that if they were going to propose anything worth while for African education, it would be expensive, (J.H. Oldham to H. Vischer, 1 February 1924, file Q-E, Edinburgh House).

Working with the Hands'.²⁴

It had seen practical illustration in the Director's model industrial school system at Machakos, which Orr announced to the Imperial Education Conference of 1915, was 'frankly and without apology based on Tuskegee'.²⁵ This technical emphasis had also been extended to the missions from the very beginning, and small grants given on the successful completion of technical courses by indentured apprentices.²⁶ Later, in 1919, the Government's Education Commission laid down an apparently unambiguous continuation of this policy with its recommendation that a combined literary and technical school programme should make way for purely technical studies after eleven years of age.²⁷ However, in the volume of evidence submitted to this Commission it was already becoming obvious that the watchword 'industrial' or 'technical'

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24. Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1924 (Nairobi, 1925), pp.18-19 (hereinafter, KEDAR 1924).
25. J.R. Orr, 'East African Protectorate', (written 1912) in Educational systems of the Chief Colonies not possessing Responsible Government: Imperial Education Conference Papers (H.M.S.O., London, 1915), p.24.
J.W.C. Dougall, in his private journal of the East African Phelps-Stokes Commission, notes, 'Orr is keen on Model schools for agricultural and technical training, talks 10 to the dozen on Booker Washington'. (Entry for Monday, 18 February 1924, copy of diary in Edinburgh House.)
26. J.R. Orr, op.cit., pp. 34-35. Government grants were made exclusively for pupils indentured for three year periods to their particular trade, on the basis of £10 for every five pupils in respect of tools, and £5 on the successful completion of each apprenticeship year. This system was unattractive to some Africans from the start, among whom the most important was Johnstone Kenyatta in this very early period. For an account of Kenyatta's refusal to apprentice himself at the Scots Mission Kikuyu, see J.W. Arthur to W.M. McLachlan, 15 February 1929, file Q-A, Edinburgh House. For Kenyatta working at a trade in Kikuyu mission, see Plate V.
27. Report of the Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate, 1919 (Nairobi), para. 40.

PLATE V



Johnstone Kenyatta "Working with the hands"
in Kikuyu Mission.
(from J.W. Arthur's photograph albums,
Edinburgh University Library.)

admitted of widely different constructions. At one extreme, industrial training was interpreted by a certain class of settler as equivalent to semi-skilled illiteracy, and there can be little doubt that the demand even of the Government's Vocational Education Commission of two years later was for an industrial education of this extremely limited type:

It is not disputed that a workman is more efficient in proportion to his knowledge of theory, drawing and so forth. The Committee, on the other hand, inspected the excellent brick house built by illiterate masons and carpenters under the non-technical supervision of Cpt. F.O.B. Wilson. The Committee are of the opinion that the Colony will be efficiently served if artisans capable of erecting such a building are forthcoming within the next few years.²⁸

In a situation where a Government Commission could thus openly support industrial education with no literary accompaniment at all, it was comparatively progressive for other witnesses to suggest that Booker Washington's interpretation of industrial might be relevant to Kenya. And, interestingly enough, this particular view was most persuasively presented to the 1919 Education Commission by Willis Hotchkiss, an American Quaker missionary who had visited Tuskegee himself in 1910.²⁹ In company with other missionaries

28. Report of Native Technical Education Committee (3 April 1923), pp. 9-10. Membership of the Committee consisted of Lord Delamere; Chief Native Commissioner; Hon. Treasurer and Mr. Northcote. Both missions and Education Department were unrepresented.

29. See chapter VII, reference 88. It should be noted that suggestions for Africans to be given training as semi-skilled illiterates, or for them to receive the broader industrial training associated with B.T. Washington, were being put forward against the wishes of many settlers who wanted no education for Africans at all. For example, nine of the twelve giving evidence to the 1919 Education Commission on behalf of the Limuru Farmers Association wanted no education for Africans until every white child

[Contd.]

he made claims for both the economic and spiritual gains of Washington's industrial education, but refrained from saying whether the economic gains were to accrue to the African Reserves or to the European settler.³⁰

It was, however, precisely because J.R. Orr was not prepared to equivocate on this question that he had fallen into such disfavour with the settlers. He was apparently determined to treat as a pedagogical question what most settlers regarded as pure politics. Thus the sole ground for his department advocating industrial education was, he claimed, psychological - the brain of the African, being undeveloped, would respond to the same manual techniques used with defective children.³¹ Orr extended the principle to show the need for Africans to develop, not European skills primarily, but their own traditional industries to a higher degree within their own Reserves, and thus eventually make the Reserves, like Tuskegee, industrially self-sufficient communities.³² The policy was hopelessly unrealistic in

29. Contd.] had been fully educated. There were three 'progressives', of whom the most advanced quoted Up from Slavery as a proof that education need not necessarily be harmful, Volume of Evidence to the Commission, pp.138-141.

30. Ibid., pp. 120-121.

31. KEDAR 1924 (Nairobi), p. 19. Orr was well read in contemporary educational writers on African education, with whom this theory was popular. cf. Dudley Kidd, Kafir Socialism (London, 1908), p.184; also C.T. Loram, The Education of the South African Native (London, 1917).

32. J.R. Orr, Lessons Derived from 12 Years' Administration of African Education (21.12.23), p.8, file on Education-Kenya-Nyasaland and Zanzibar (hereinafter Q-F), Edinburgh House. B.T. Washington had suggested in the book, Working with the Hands (London, 1904), p.38, on which Orr based his policy, that missionaries should develop the native industries:

[Contd.]

terms of the settlers' determination to use the Education Department as a supplier of artisans outside the Reserves, but it did, in its enthusiasm for the improved village life, anticipate by some ten years the consensus of African educationists on rural and agricultural priorities.³³

The conflict between Orr's policy and European market demands for artisans came to a head in late 1923, when the Education Estimates for 1924 were being debated. Orr had so frequently spoken out against exclusively literary education that the Legislative Council felt itself justified in tying down all but £1,000 of the £13,000 education grant to its own specifically technical objectives. By what seemed verbal gymnastics, they were even able to tie down the so-called Literary education grant to technical education, on the grounds that if they did not do so, the missions might use it exclusively for literary education, and this would be against Education Department policy.³⁴ Furthermore, the Legislative

32. Contd.] 'Not long ago I was asked by a missionary who was going into the foreign field what ... he ought to teach the people ... I asked him what the principal occupation of the people was among whom he was going, and he replied that it was the raising of sheep. I advised him then to begin his missionary work by teaching the people how to raise more sheep than they were raising and better sheep.'

33. See chapter VII, refs. 109-111.

34. Coryndon to Devonshire, 10 January 1924, C.O. 533/307, c.o.6070; J.R. Orr to E.B. Denham, 22 November 1923, 'African Education in Kenya' enclosed in the above despatch; cf. also J.R. Orr to R.T. Coryndon, 23 October 1923, Coryndon Papers, box 5, file 1, MSS.AFR.s.633, Rhodes House, Oxford. Under the Estimates for 1924, the old basis for apportioning education grants was changed; grants had previously been made under the single Head, 'Literary and Technical Education'. This was now substituted by two more definite Heads - 'Technical Education', and 'Literary Education - Grants for Technical Apprentices'. The settlers in what seems at first sight a complete distortion of language played on the very important fact that Orr meant by 'literary', an education in which the literary side was inseparable from the technical side, as in Tuskegee. Such a position was open to exactly the abuse that had occurred.

Council decided to revert to the system of payment by results which the 1919 Commission had just halted.³⁵ Judging these actions to be a vote of no confidence in his own direction and priorities, Orr appealed to the Colonial Office to have the Phelps-Stokes Commission investigate his Department when they came to Kenya in two months' time. They might be able to confirm whether he was correct in accusing Government of completely neglecting the Reserves, and whether the single trend of the present policy was 'that Government shall provide education only for those African Males who are willing to serve the European Community as Artisans'.³⁶ The strain of trying to fulfil his obligation to all three white communities, and four separate racial groups, would soon make Orr a sick man;³⁷ but that he was not at this point exaggerating the situation with which Dr. Jones would have to deal is shown by the comment of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Missionary Societies:

The Council is disturbed by the fact that in the Estimates for African education in 1924, the increase in the grant is for technical education only ...

The Representative Council believes that there is a conflict between the ideals of the Missionary Societies and those of the Leg. Co. Education should be on the broadest possible base, whereas the grants made by Leg. Co. are on as narrow a one as is possible to imagine.³⁸

35. Ibid.

36. J.R. Orr to E.B. Denham, see reference 34. The underlining is in the original.

37. H.D. Hooper to J.H. Oldham, 20 June 1925, Hooper file, Edinburgh House.

38. Minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Missionary Societies, 19th - 22nd November, 1923, file East Africa-Kenya-Education (hereinafter Q-A) Edinburgh House. See also, H.D. Hooper to J.R. Orr, 23 November, 1923, file Q-A 'The year opened with a fanfare of native trusteeship; it closes with an announcement of which the only interpretation is that the

Here, therefore, was one problem which looked too stubborn to be resolved by any simple formula, since the most basic principles of the missions and the Director of Education seemed to be thrown directly across the path of the Legislative Council's and settlers' demands. But it was at least an issue which united the Department and the missions; the difficulty was that the other critical issue of Government school versus mission school set the missions in opposition to both the Director and the Administration.

Similarly to the industrial education question, however, latent antagonism only boiled over a few weeks before the Phelps-Stokes Commission arrived. The first serious blow to the missions came with the unanimous proposals of the Senior and District Commissioners' Meeting of December 4th to 8th, 1923, that model Government Schools should be introduced in each District.³⁹ Orr immediately confirmed the proposal, and added the gloss that 'no African should be compelled to receive doses of Catholicism or Calvinism in his endeavour to learn, and free access should be given to un-denominational or even secular schools'.⁴⁰ It is not at this stage entirely clear exactly how far Orr and the Commissioners were expressing an administrative preference,

38. Contd.] immediate interests of the European community must be the controlling factor in the determination of our native policy The deliberate purpose of the elected members who pressed for the revision of estimates seems to be 'to train a man into a machine, a soul into a pair of hands.' Orr had the charge of European, African, Arab, and Indian education.

39. Coryndon to Devonshire, see reference 34 above. (Resolutions of Senior and District Commissioners enclosed in this Despatch.)

40. J.R. Orr, see ref. 32, p.9.

or whether they were in part reflecting the beginnings of African opposition to mission education, such as would in the later twenties become widespread. But it does seem likely that J.W. Arthur, the Secretary of the Protestant Alliance, probably underestimated the element of African initiative behind the Commissioners' proposals.⁴¹

Indeed, there was soon to be a paradox involved in any discussion of the advantages of Government schools for Kenya; the Colonial Office would be inclined to discourage the notion, since it would give the settlers too strong a say in their management; while the Africans would increasingly look to government schools as affording them freedom from mission control. For the moment, it was an indication of Arthur's fear, that he felt it necessary fully to brief the Phelps-Stokes Commission on the dangers of Government Model Schools as soon as they reached Mombasa. He was able to pass on at the same time the report that Orr was planning a further invasion of mission privilege by starting a model government training school within six miles of Arthur's Scots Mission school at Kikuyu.⁴²

Orr was not activated by spite in proposing this, but had long held this conviction that teacher training was the over-riding weakness of the present system. Indeed, he had

41. J.W. Arthur to T.J. Jones, 14 December, 1923, file Q-A, Edinburgh House. It seems scarcely an adequate account of African demand, for Arthur to suggest that the Commissioners had bribed the Chiefs to ask for secondary Govt. Schools by promising 'they may do what they like as to polygamy, drink, etc. if their children are sent to Govt. Schools.'

For the general African background against which this administration move must be read, see T. Ranger, 'African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa, 1900-1939', Past and Present (Oxford), No.32, December, 1965, pp. 57-85.

42. J.W. Arthur to T.J. Jones, 14 December, 1923, file Q-A, Edinburgh House.

had the strongest confirmation of his views in the recent official report of E.R.J. Hussey on African education in Kenya.⁴³ It was, after all, the most logical priority for someone who had given so much attention to the role of Tuskegee in providing teachers for Southern schools; and it was only natural that he should now bring the proposal forward in the hope of Phelps-Stokes support. Part of Arthur's animus against him, however, was explained by the fact that Orr's model teacher training school would not be the only scheme seeking Phelps-Stokes' blessing. For Dr. Arthur hoped that his own plan for a higher joint missionary college would gain their official approval.⁴⁴

The Phelps-Stokes Commission were to spend three weeks in Kenya Colony.⁴⁵ In that short time, they had so to gain the sympathy of the best of the settlers that trusteeship of African education would be taken seriously. But, more difficult, an area of co-operation had to be proclaimed and found between parties who could at present only see that their ways and principles were totally opposed.

The first approach was to the settler community. As soon as Dr. Jones had given his first press conference, the settlers at least were given a very solid assurance that this

43. E.R.J. Hussey, Memorandum on Certain Aspects of Arab and African Education (presented to Leg. Co., May 21st 1924), pp. 1-3; also, J.R. Orr to H.D. Hooper, 17 August 1920, file Q-A, Edinburgh House: 'You are, I think, aware of my views. Train teachers by the score and by the hundred and send them out to every village of the 2½ millions of natives of this country.'

44. J.W. Arthur to J.H. Oldham, 31 December 1924, 11 page memorandum on the origins of the Protestant Alliance Missionary College, file Q-A, Edinburgh House.

45. i.e. February 18th to March 9th, and March 24 to 28th, 1924. For the Commission in Kenya, see Plate VI.

PLATE VI

THE PHELPS-STOKES COMMISSION.



A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN NAIROBI AFTER AN INFORMAL CONFERENCE AT THE SECRETARIAT.

Back Row:—Mr. Juxton Barton, Canon Leakey, C.M.S., Col. Watkins, Deputy C.N.C., Dr. Jesse Jones, President of the Commission, Rev. Garfield Williams, Rev. Dr. Arthur, C.S.M., Hon. Mr. Maxwell, C.N.C., Dr. H. L. Shantz, Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey.
Front Row:—Bishop of Mombasa, Dr. J. H. Dillard, Major Hanns Vischer, Mrs. Vischer, Hon. Mr. E. B. Denham, Colonial Secretary.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission in Kenya.
(from the East African Standard (weekly edition),
March 8, 1924).

particular commission was not going to call into question the fact of white settlement. This was not, however, to be done in Jones' characteristic way, by simply avoiding the whole issue - quite the opposite. White settlement was enthusiastically and publicly embraced by the three most influential members of the team; Dillard, Aggrey and Jones, each in their own style, gave the settlers the message that they had 'reason for self-congratulation' over their civilising mission.⁴⁶

So far from Dillard using his long experience of Southern education to drive a harder bargain for an educational mandate, he came across to the white press as 'a kindly soul, unlikely to hurt the feelings of anyone by harsh criticism. He tells us,' continued the East African Standard, 'that he is sure that we will solve our problems all right; we impress him that way.'⁴⁷ Jones himself was prepared to be a good deal more explicit, and, from Kenya's example, openly advocate the extension of white colonisation in other parts of Africa the Commission had recently visited; in a speech widely taken to refer to the colonisation of Abyssinia, he suggested that settlement was almost a necessary pre-condition of African redemption:

"If I had my way", he said, "I would take a cross cut of the population of Kenya - I would not want the angelic members of the population - I would take the average man, a thousand of the ordinary citizens, even the despised settler, and put them in certain parts of Africa. I know that they might work out the salvation

46. 'First Impressions', East African Standard (Nairobi, weekly edition) Saturday March 8th, 1924, p.7.

47. 'You will solve Your Problems All Right', East African Standard, 8th March, 1924, p.35.

of those parts. I am talking now in all sincerity. I am increasingly of the conviction that Africa will only work out its salvation as it comes in contact with the other parts of the world."⁴⁸

If any further demonstration of sympathy with the position of whites in Kenya was needed after this, Aggrey's speeches to white audiences provided it. His justification of colonisation followed basically the same pattern as Dr. Jones. The general doctrine that no backward people or nation could advance independent of outside help was used to encourage white tutelage while allaying fears that Africans wished self-determination. Admittedly there was usually, for the careful listener, the quiet promotion of African rights, and the gentlest of threats that the African might not continue patiently to appeal to the white man's conscience for ever. Many of Aggrey's speeches had just such a double edge,⁴⁹ but there can be little doubt that his major speeches in Kenya were taken as sophisticated African confirmation for increased white settlement; the following extract showed their tendency:

"America is great because Northern Europe and Southern Europe came to help to make it what it is. Therefore," he said, "let the best of the nations, especially those who have done something themselves

48. Ibid., cf. also, J.R. Orr to T.J. Jones, 14 April, 1926, file N-1, Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives, New York (hereinafter P.S.F.A.):

'You stated publicly in a speech in the European school that one thing you had longed for in a European country you had recently visited was a handful of British settlers with their commonsense, their straightforward honesty and their restless desire for a high standard of progress and civilisation.' (n.b. the only country the Phelps-Stokes Commission had visited prior to Kenya was Ethiopia). In the light of Jones' speeches, Vischer wrote Oldham rather incongruously, 12 June 1924, Q-E, Edinburgh House, 'I think it is a good thing he kept to education as much as I think, and we all think that he ought to have kept away from the press'.

49. See chapter VIII, refs. 129-130.

come over here and help us that we too may make a contribution to the world (applause). We are ordinary human beings with ordinary passions and aspirations longing to be where everyone is. I am pleading with my people to be patient with the white man, and when you want things done, be patient too."⁵⁰

Aggrey's role had been originally more narrowly defined as the improvement of race relations, and strictly speaking, discussion of white settlement was beyond his brief. But even within this limited sphere he scored considerable successes in interpreting the two races to each other.⁵¹ Part of this success came from his reworking in Kenya of the well worn interracial axiom of the Southern States in the phrase, 'the leadership of the best Africans by the best white men'.⁵² This was in fact a much more explicit definition of what co-operation meant than Aggrey was wont to make in Africa,⁵³ but then the whole trend of the Commission's attitude to the whites in Kenya had been unusually concessive. Indeed it seems possible that the American members of the Commission exaggerated the need to identify with the white colonists, and eulogise their civilising influence. After all, even the East African Standard had felt a little overcome by 'all this flattery and appreciation', and thought that more valuable criticism could have been expected had the Commission not come to Kenya direct from uncivilised Abyssinia.⁵⁴

50. See reference 47.

51. See further chapter VII, references 66, 67.

52. J.R. Orr to T.J. Jones, 14 April, 1926, file N-1, P.S.F.A.

53. E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929), p. 125, noted 'What does cooperation imply? I cannot find in available records that Aggrey fully defined the term.'

54. See reference 47.

The larger implications of these concessions to white settlement will be examined later,⁵⁵ but Jones may well have thought such a stance a necessary preliminary to resolving the other acute educational and political conflicts in the territory.

The first of these was the impasse that had been reached between Christian missions and the Director of Education and the settlers over the industrial nature of African education, and whether it should be directed toward the European labour market or the African Reserves. It seemed an issue on which there could be no equivocation. In practice, however, the Commission won friends on both sides by trading in the crucial area of overlap between settler and mission views. Both sides had a common antipathy to merely literary education. That industrial training must provide the basis of African education was not in dispute. What was needed was to present the case for a new type of industrial education in the Reserves that would satisfy the missionary conscience without interfering with the settlers' labour supply. The argument, Jones saw, was less about industrial education than about an equitable distribution of grants-in-aid between Reserve education and education of artisans for the towns and European areas.

Jones had himself no objection to African artisan training for the towns, and on this the settlers were reassured as soon as he had given one of his press briefings, and Aggrey had spoken to white audiences. It was not basically a distortion of either Jones' or Aggrey's views when the settlers seized

55. See chapter V.

on Jones' "Gospel of the Plough" or Aggrey's "Teach the Native to work with his hand".⁵⁶ These slogans kept appearing in Phelps-Stokes speeches because they reflected a basic conviction that contact with the European economy, especially in industrial activities, was a valuable education for the African. Jones made it quite explicit when he came to write his Report later in the year, that the Phelps-Stokes attitude to industrial training and the labour market was a refinement, but not a radical alteration of the settler position.⁵⁷ In General Armstrong's language, he outlined the value of the European sphere for Africans generally: 'Literally thousands upon thousands of the Native Youth have "learned by doing" many of the important processes of industry, commerce and agriculture.'⁵⁸ There was therefore not the slightest inclination on Jones' part to criticise the policy of African artisan training, over which Orr had nearly resigned. Indeed, his report on Kenya could only comment that the determination to train Natives for industrial pursuits constituted a valuable educational opportunity for Kenya's Africans.⁵⁹

56. 'Religion in a Spade' East Africa, 1, No.2, 1924, p.42; also Aggrey was reported in the East African Standard (weekly edition) of 8.3.24: 'He made a special plea for education through the hand so that they might produce something - "even the most infinitesimal part of a fraction".' Cf. also, E. Huxley, White Man's Country, ii, 1914-1931 (London, 1935), p. 182.

57. Nor was Jones' attitude to such topics as native production of coffee and cotton radically different from the settler position, Education in East Africa, p. 107.

58. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, p.86.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

Although this naturally more than delighted the settler lobby, it would still be necessary to provide evidence to the missionaries that artisans for the European economy did not run counter to the demands of developing the Reserves. Some of the leading missionaries were already becoming apprehensive, and J.W. Arthur in particular viewed the new settler jubilation with dismay.⁶⁰ Jones had, however, brought a scheme over from the Southern States which he felt would exactly meet the requirements of the Reserves, namely, the Jeanes Industrial Teacher system. The function of these Jeanes teachers in the States had been to circulate groups of backward Negro schools as friendly visitors, attempting to make simple industrial and agricultural improvements on the narrowly literary curriculum.⁶¹ Here in Kenya, Jones explained, after training in a central institution, they could rove the Reserves, stimulating the growth of local African crafts, and encouraging a less literary approach to education. As the missionaries desired, these teachers would be exclusively concerned not with the development of a few skilled artisans, but with the general improvement of the masses in the Reserves.

It seems clear that Jones, with the strongest backing

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60. J.W. Arthur, 'The Phelps-Stokes Commission' (9.4.24); 'The newly elected members of the Leg. Co. are claiming in their speeches that the Phelps-Stokes Commission is recommending exactly what they themselves think and are therefore one with the settler party on their views as to the education of the natives.' - file Q-A, Edinburgh House.
61. L.G.E. Jones, The Jeanes Teacher in the United States: 1908-1933 (Chapel Hill, N. Carolina, 1937).

from Dr. Dillard of the Jeanes Fund,⁶² had decided they should present the Jeanes Scheme to the Government as the single most important chance to demonstrate trusteeship for native education. And the Government were ready to grant this request because it looked as if it would resolve not only the industrial education tangle, but also contribute to a solution of the Government-mission school controversy.⁶³

This other major area of government-missionary hostility, Dr. Jones realised, had largely blown up because there were no formal lines of communication between the missionaries and the Education Department. In consequence, Department policy from month to month had been more the subject of rumour than anything else. Probably Jones' greatest achievement therefore was in the space of three weeks to build up a machinery of co-operation in the form of a Central Advisory Committee on African Education.⁶⁴ This body would now represent all the important educational missions in the country as well as settlers and Government; and it was due solely to Jones' persuasiveness that the previously non-co-operating missions were drawn into this Central Council. Both the Friends' Africa Mission and the African Inland Mission now had representatives on the Advisory Committee, and the Friends had for the first time been convinced that

62. For a more detailed account of the factors involved, see chapter VI, references 3-7.

63. Ibid.

64. A very valuable account of the tactics and diplomacy involved in this agreement is contained in J.W.C. Dougall's Journal of his tour (18.2.24 to 20.6.24), copy in Edinburgh House. Cf. also, J.W. Arthur, 'The Phelps-Stokes Commission' (9.4.24), file Q-A, Edinburgh House.

they might benefit from accepting Government grants.⁶⁵

While this constitutional basis for future co-operation had been in the negotiating stage, it had been of vital importance that the Phelps-Stokes Commission countenance no scheme that might upset the balance. Both Orr's higher teacher training school and Arthur's higher missionary college were therefore skirted as being too controversial, and the Jeanes scheme introduced instead. This meant, in effect, that the two alternative suggestions for higher education cancelled each other out for diplomatic reasons, and a low-level village teacher scheme was put forward on which Government and Missions might co-operate. For the Jeanes Central Training School would be government-run, but its trainees would be seconded from the various missions, and return to them after their course.⁶⁶

It must be remembered in this tactical block over higher education that it was not only some missionaries and the Education Department that had been hoping for a move in the direction of further education; the education of an African leadership had been one of the main planks in Thuku's programme and those he had influenced.⁶⁷ It would now be seen to what extent the Phelps-Stokes Commission could make contact with and satisfy African opinion on such a brief visit.

This of course was specifically Aggrey's assignment, and indeed it had been hoped that he might compile a chapter on

65. Ibid. Also, T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, pp. 119, 128, 130, 131.

66. See reference 64 above.

67. See chapter III, reference 63. Also, T. Ranger, op.cit., p.66.

the Native Viewpoint as he went round East Africa.⁶⁸ But Aggrey's time had been more occupied in preparing Africans for the new type of education than in seeking out and passing on their own preferences. Along with this went his attempt to communicate the insights in interracial philosophy that he had learnt in the Southern States. How much importance Dr. Jones attached to this function can be seen from Aggrey's speaking no less than seventy five times in Uganda and Kenya within five weeks.⁶⁹ On the face of it, his messages of patience and loyalty appeared to the white population valuable contributions to law, order, and correct education in the country. For example, there was still, even two years after Thuku's arrest, a strong underground movement.⁷⁰ Aggrey was therefore enlisted by the Church of Scotland Mission to give their loyal chiefs some backing for their anti-Thuku stand, and an hour was spent talking to them and advising them 'to

68. In Hanns Vischer's Report for the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa (15 December 1924), Edinburgh House, there is an empty docket for Aggrey's Memorandum on the Native Point of View.

69. J.E.K. Aggrey to W.E. Owen, 15 April 1924, Owen Papers, Acc. 83, Church Missionary Society Archives, London.

70. H.D. Hooper to J.H. Oldham, 1 August 1923, file Q-A, Edinburgh House; almost a year and a half after Thuku's arrest, Hooper was writing:

"The more intelligent natives are determined to have a finger in the pie of their destinies, and the E.A.A. which includes natives of all tribes and creeds provides the necessary formula of loyalty to a common ideal of black citizenship. Meanwhile in spite of the slump, its enthusiasts are working steadily to establish its organisation regular branches electing their delegates to a central council in Nairobi, with regular subscriptions, and travelling propagandists are in being ..."

beware of all anti-government agitation'.⁷¹

Despite this episode, it seems likely that Aggrey's speechmaking had an effect upon his African audiences directly opposite to what Dr. Jones and Aggrey himself intended. His speeches called for Africans to be content to be truly African, and yet he was widely hailed and admired for being the 'black Muzungu' (European).⁷² What was more important than his words of patience was the fact of his amazing fluency in the English language. He came across in fact as the single most vivid advertisement for the advantages of higher literary education that many Africans in Kenya and Uganda would see throughout the 1920s and 1930s. It did not matter at all that Aggrey spoke out for practical training on almost every occasion; he probably, paradoxically, did more harm to the cause of industrial education in his whirlwind three weeks than the Jeanes School could undo in many months. Although, therefore, the Commission had made no concession to higher education, and in closed session had expressed grave concern at Africans going abroad, there is

71. J.W. Arthur, 'The Phelps-Stokes Commission', Q-A, Edinburgh House. This incident in which Aggrey preached against Thuku illustrated the two African interpretations of Tuskegee in conflict; Thuku had some three years earlier been appealing for his American brethren to found a 'Tuskegee' in the African wilds; yet here he was being condemned by a man who was also trying to 'connect Africa with Tuskegee'; - see reference 19 above, and chapter III, ref. 68.

72. H.D. Hooper to J.H. Oldham, 2 March, 1924, Hooper file, (Q-P), Edinburgh House.

strong evidence that Aggrey's American education directly stimulated Africans to think of education overseas.⁷³

There was a further area where the Phelps-Stokes philosophy made contact with local African initiative. This was its certainty that the crucial undertaking for Education Departments and Missions was the strict supervision of the thousands of tiny 'bush' or village schools. Very little significance would be attached to Jones' enthusiasm for supervising the schools at this level, if he had not already in the States shown a more than educational interest in the little Negro independent schools.⁷⁴ His Negro Education had offered very little understanding of the aspirations that lay behind the independent schools, and now in Kenya and other parts of Africa it seemed that it was the danger of their relative independence that drew Jones' attention to the bush schools as much as their educational inefficiency:

Sympathetic supervision and friendly visitation of schools in Africa will improve all, double the value of a large proportion, and save many from utter failure. Without friendly direction, the village school system in parts of Africa will soon be so completely discredited as to threaten the arrest of mission activities in those areas. In view of the amount of harmful propaganda rife among Native people, Governments cannot be indifferent to the existence of a large number of small schools taught by Natives with very little education. The one hope for the continuance of such schools is the provision of sufficient supervision to guide and direct their work and influence.⁷⁵

73. J.W.C. Dougall, *Journal of the Phelps-Stokes Commission*, entry for Tuesday 25th March, 1924. For an example of Aggrey's stimulating Africans to higher education abroad, see chapter VIII, ref. 91. For Azikiwe catching his ambitions for American study from Aggrey, see Jones-Quartey, K.A.B., A Life of Azikiwe (London, 1965), pp. 25, 53.

74. See chapter II, references 65-72.

75. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, p.50. Also T. Ranger, *op.cit.*, p.72.

This potentially dangerous sector of the system where, as Jones saw it, the teachers were very often merely 'blind leaders of the blind' was a further reason to insist on introducing the Jeanes Teacher system.⁷⁶ It would provide a corps of Africans trained in the new ideals of adapted education who could continuously tour the Reserves, and keep a friendly watch over the areas that the white missionaries could not adequately cover.⁷⁷

At the end of their three weeks of visits and negotiations, the Commission had unquestionably created a rare degree of harmony amongst all concerned with African education. Missionaries who had previously thought any genuine co-operation with Government impossible had quite changed their minds. Vischer reported that the good element of the settlers was 'dead keen on Native education'.⁷⁸ Even the Director of Education had been praised for his statesmanlike policies.⁷⁹ This sudden unanimity was not simply the result of Jones' persuasiveness - although that was remarkable. It would have been an impossible objective had there not been a

76. T.J. Jones, op.cit., p.59.

77. See chapter VI for the working out of this experiment.

78. Hanns Vischer to J.H. Oldham, 1 May 1924, file Q-E, Edinburgh House. R.T. Coryndon to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 20 June 1924, C.O. 533/311/36044. 'I take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to the Phelps-Stokes Commission for the interest in and sympathy with all communities in Kenya which were shewn by them ... I feel sure that their visit has been of great value to this Colony, and that they will endorse the opinion, which I can express on behalf of all sections here, that the most important factor in the future progress in this Colony lies in the hearty cooperation and good will now displayed in all educational matters by those on whom the heavy responsibility of educating the people of this country rests.'

79. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, pp. 118, 139.

substantial area of agreement to be exploited. Jones' strategy had been simply to cut his way through the personal animosities and mission-government rivalries, to demonstrate how all three parties could subscribe to differentiated education for Africans. As with his earlier work in the Southern States, very little new had been needed to reach agreement, beyond the provision of a more sophisticated theoretical basis for the industrial education that everybody already believed in. The new outlook was never clearly defined, and it was this very ambiguity that was the cause of success; Oldham described the impression it had on many missionaries:

I am reminded of the perplexity which existed to some extent a year or two ago when Dr. Jesse Jones came back from Africa and expounded his programme of education. 'What precisely do you want us to do?' people kept asking him. If he had been ready to supply a cut-and-dry curriculum, if he had insisted that this or that subject should be cut out or this or that activity introduced, what he was saying would have seemed so much simpler. But he consistently refused to do this. 'I do not want you to do anything in particular,' he kept saying. 'I want you to do from a new point of view what you are doing at present.'⁸⁰

The ambiguity was popular with the settlers because Jones had consistently refused also to tie technical education down to improving the African Reserves.⁸¹ And for the missions there

80. E.W. Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa: A study based on the proceedings of the international conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14th to 21st, 1926; see therein, J.H. Oldham, 'The relation of Christian Mission to the New Forces that are reshaping African life', p.170.

81. J.W.C. Dougall to J.H. Oldham, 19 January 1925; the Secretary of the Commission was aware that the industrial education issue was still dangerously ambiguous after the Phelps-Stokes visit:

'I wish Jones had made it clear, in his discussion of "Industrial Skill" that he did not propose any system of vocational training in the elementary schools and that "technical" education must be designed primarily for the development of the native Reserves.'

was the challenge of experimenting with the new adapted education and of receiving government grants for the purpose.⁸² Moreover, in its readiness to inaugurate the first Jeanes Teacher Training scheme in Africa, the Kenya Government had made precisely the sort of concession to trusteeship of the African that the missionary leaders and the Advisory Committee in Britain had desired.

It might appear, nevertheless, that the Phelps-Stokes Commission could have driven a harder bargain with Kenya than that of accepting this school to train better village teachers. But it must be stressed that there was no question of their having failed to get a higher college or teacher training school. The Jeanes School was the highest concession that the American members of the Phelps-Stokes Commission wanted. It was, after all, the embodiment of the most enlightened principles of Negro education in the States; there was in it the rural emphasis and the simplicity, thought so appropriate to developing peoples, along with the same spirit of community-mindedness as fired Hampton and Tuskegee. Jones himself believed that the Jeanes system was the most suitable vehicle for transplanting his whole philosophy of adapted education to Africa.⁸³ And as his views on African education

82. As a direct consequence of the Phelps-Stokes visit, the Government made its first grant for home training and child welfare - £500; £2,915 was set aside for the Jeanes school, Estimates for 1925, 15 October, 1924, C.O. 533/314/53606, Public Record Office, London; also, E.B. Denham to T.J. Jones, 4 June 1924, Q-F, Edinburgh House.

83. Jones believed that the system contained the essence of all the best philanthropic activity in the Southern States, Jones to Oldham, 20 May, 1927, file on the Jeanes School, Edinburgh House, 'I am still fearful that you do not understand the comprehensive character of the Jeanes plan In a word, it combines the methods of the

had received in 1924 the official approval of the American and British missionary societies,⁸⁴ the Kenya Government's image changed, as far as education was concerned, from reactionary to progressive within the year.⁸⁵

Before examining in a little more detail the place of the Commission within the general development of Kenyan education in the 1920s and 1930s, it is worth questioning whether radical changes could be expected to result from the new-found co-operation. Leaving aside the single initiative in Jeanes work in the Reserves, Dr. Jones' watchword, 'adaptation', was too broad a term to suggest any particular course except one that was different from the prevailing white system. And it could therefore be equally used by a variety of people who wished education to be adapted, some for racial reasons, others for political and social, and others on purely pedagogical grounds. Indeed, this was the continuing embarrassment to any industrial programme, whether it was General Armstrong's, Albert Schweizer's or Jesse Jones';

83. Contd.] General Education Board, the Slater and Jeanes Fund and the Rosenwald Foundation'. Cf. also, T.J. Jones, Education in Africa, p.54.

84. Christian Education in Africa: Conference at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, September 8-13, 1924 (Edinburgh House Press), p.3: "The Conference has had under careful consideration a Memorandum by Dr. Jesse Jones on An Educational Policy for African Colonies. The Conference, without endorsing every detail of the Memorandum, or its particular order of emphasis, finds itself in entire agreement with the main conclusions. The Conference recommends to all the missionary boards represented the careful study of the Memorandum, and requests the Boards to transmit Dr. Jones' proposals to their missionaries working in Africa, and to urge their consideration as the basis of a general educational system for Africa".

85. Note the considerable publicity given to the Jeanes school in the Annual Reports of the Education Department, especially, KEDAR, 1928, 1930, 1931.

they attracted support from racist as easily as from progressive educators.⁸⁶ It is not therefore surprising to find that things went on very much as before, after the Phelps-Stokes Commission left. The requirements of the Europeans for artisans, and the gradual improvement of the Reserves could be simultaneously encouraged under Jones' slogan of 'Adaptation of education to the needs of the community'.

Despite all the publicity for the Jeanes School, the production of artisans remained the priority. Mission Central schools continued compulsorily to indenture their technical students for the last three years in school. Government grants-in-aid were still weighted heavily in favour of schools giving efficient technical education, and indeed there was added inducement in the new grant agreements to build up European staffs on the technical side.⁸⁷ The trend was continued in the establishment of the Native Industrial Training Depot (N.I.T.D.), to take the indentured mission students on for a further two years of trade training. Although both the N.I.T.D. scheme and the Jeanes School were mooted for the first time at the inaugural meeting of the Central Advisory Committee for Education in May, 1924, the

86. Contrast the use made of Schweizer and Armstrong in J.H. Oldham and B.D. Gibson's The Remaking of Man in Africa (London, 1931), pp. 45-46 with that of H.O. Weller (supervisor of Technical education in Kenya) 'The Education of the Kenyan African' (1933) in Coryndon Papers, 18/1, MSS. AFR. s. 633, Rhodes House, Oxford.

87. Report of the Committee on Grants in Aid for Education in Kenya (East African Standard, Nairobi, 1925), paras. 18, 21, 28; also, C.W. Stubbs and E.E. Biss, Report of Technical Departments of Mission Schools Receiving Grants-in-Aid (16.10.25) (Govt. Press, 1925), p.6.

rate of their development was significant.⁸⁸ By June the Government was suggesting setting aside £25,000 from the loan fund for permanent buildings at the N.I.T.D., and students in training rose swiftly from 55 in 1925, to 220 in 1926, to over 500 in 1928.⁸⁹ The Jeanes School by contrast lay becalmed without adequate staff, capital expenditure or budget from 1924 until 1927, and only then was set in motion by strong external pressures.⁹⁰ The next five years saw no relaxing of the industrial priority, and it was only when the market became glutted with N.I.T.D. graduates in 1933/34 that Government finally abandoned the indenture of technical students at mission primary schools.⁹¹ It is doubtful, however, whether the Phelps-Stokes Commission, even if it had wanted to, could have reversed or checked the determination of the settlers to have the labour they required. As it was, the development of the N.I.T.D. was not inconsistent

88. Minutes of Central Advisory Committee for Native Education (Kenya) for 13.5.24 and 26.6.24, minutes filed in Q-A, Edinburgh House.

89. E.B. Denham to Sec. of State for Colonies, 7 June 1924, C.O. 533/311/31193; E.B. Denham to S/S, 8 July, 1924, C.O. 533/312/37308, Public Record Office, London. Also Kenya Legislative Council Debates for 10th March, 1927; cf. KEDAR 1928 (Nairobi. Govt. Printer, 1929), p.61.

90. See chapter VI, refs. 41-43.

91. KEDAR 1930 (Govt. Printer 1931), pp. 28-29. Also, KEDAR 1934 (Govt. Printer, 1935), pp. 21, 24. cf. also Oldham's retrospective assessment of the policy from the time of the Phelps-Stokes Commission until 1933: 'I am thoroughly in favour of the proposal to make resources available through the reduction of European technical instructors which signalises the abandonment of what seemed to me, in my first visit to Kenya seven years ago, a thoroughly mistaken policy. The whole of native education of that time seemed to me to be directed not towards the general improvement of conditions among the people as a whole but towards the provision of artisans for European employment'. (J.H. Oldham to H.S. Scott, 12.9.33. Q A, Edinburgh House).

with the analysis and recommendations contained in the Kenya section of the Phelps-Stokes East Africa Report.⁹²

There was a more serious deficiency in the Commission's Kenya Report than this failure to comment on the industrialisation of the school system; the consensus that had been secured did not take into consideration the possible reaction of the Africans themselves. Dr. Jones' concessions to the value of industrial training and his introduction of the Jeanes System were neither of them calculated to gratify African aspirations. Indeed, the unanimity he had achieved amongst the sections of white opinion had been directly at the expense of the two schemes for higher education. The postponement was particularly significant in view of Arthur's college scheme at least having gone far beyond the mere planning stage. Already considerable endowment had been promised, land obtained and the medical buildings erected.⁹³

That it was not entirely abandoned was probably more due to African pressure than anything else.⁹⁴ Only a month after the publication of the Phelps-Stokes Report, the Director of Education had to inform the Advisory Committee of

92. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, pp. 117, 119. There was no comment on the indenture system, nor any suggestion that the technical bias was anything but commendable.

93. J.W. Arthur to J.H. Oldham, 31 December 1924, 11 page memorandum on the Protestant Alliance Missionary College, file Q-A, Edinburgh House.

94. Dr. Arthur himself, however, remained determined to press for some higher education, even more so after seeing Aggrey: 'We must express the hope that the time must come for a college to teach science etc., because we cannot manage these black people unless we give them an idea of the great movements working through the ages: e.g. Dr. Aggrey's great influence due to this'. For reference, see 71 above.

'a desire expressed by certain Africans to send their sons to schools in Ceylon, India, America and England'. Arrangements had been made to send two boys to the new Achimota College in the Gold Coast, and there was even interest in going to Tuskegee.⁹⁵ This alarming enthusiasm for further education overseas could only, the Committee agreed, be contained by providing locally for some sort of higher education. Arthur's proposals were meanwhile reintroduced, and sent to Edinburgh House, the headquarters of the Conference of British Missionary Societies for their comment. A small conference was held there between Oldham, Jesse Jones, the Church of Scotland and the Church Missionary Society representatives, and it was decided on Oldham's suggestion with the strongest backing from Jones to change the scheme from a College to a good Junior High School.⁹⁶

Alliance High School, the result of this agreement, began in a small way in 1926.⁹⁷ But as far as satisfying African demand for secondary education went, it came too late and on too small a scale.

There had been African hostility to much mission education

95. Proceedings of Meeting of Central Advisory Committee for African Education, 9.6.25, filed in Edinburgh House. Note on Meeting between Director of Education (Kenya) and the Executive Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council, 21 May, 1925, in file, Christian Council Correspondence, Edinburgh House.
96. In the preliminaries to this conference, Dr. Jones' East Africa Report was consulted by Edinburgh House, and taken to be not 'very definite' on the matter of the college, (2.3.25); the conference itself was held 27.3.25, file Q-A, Edinburgh House.
97. For further details of the Alliance High School, see chapter VII, refs. 72-76.

for some time, both on curricular and other grounds, and it certainly had not been lessened after Thuku had popularised the idea that the missionary was in the settler's pay.⁹⁸

When therefore Local Native Councils were established in 1925, Africans immediately began taxing themselves for an education that would be outside missionary control.

Government schools, they felt, would give them greater control over their own education; and by 1929 they had presented the new Director of Education, H.S. Scott, with the problem of more than £50,000 raised by voluntary cesses specifically for non-mission education.⁹⁹ The much vaunted co-operation that Jones had secured was soon quite lost in months of bitter recrimination, as missions and government in turn claimed to be the best interpreter of the Africans' real demands.¹⁰⁰

But the crux of the problem was the same in 1929 as when Jones had been in Kenya - the achieving of a meaningful co-operation. The only difference now was that Scott's definition of co-operation contained an element that had been

98. See chapter VII, ref. 109; cf. also, Ranger, op.cit., pp. 74-75; cf. further a comment in Thuku's handbill, Tangazo, for 17 February, 1922:

'There is a priest at Fort Hall belonging to the C.M.S. and he prayed to God in the church to continue to keep this dark country dark, and let the people continue to be ignorant. Is this the sort of prayer we pray to God? No. This is not the sort of prayer you pray to God: it's the sort to pray to Satan. Can Africa remain in the dark because of the prayers of this European? No. Africa will continue to be enlightened. That European is not the servant of God'. (I am indebted to Mr. Opadia Kadima for translating this passage from the Swahili.)

99. H.S. Scott to J.H. Oldham, 10 March, 1929, file Q-A, Edinburgh House. The growth of the Kenya Independent Schools was partly a reaction to Government's unwillingness to use LNC money for secondary education; see Ranger, op.cit. Sally Abbott is presently completing a study of independent schooling in Kenya at the London School of Economics, African Education Policy of Kenya Government, 1904-1945.

100. H.S. Scott file, Q-A, Edinburgh House.

conspicuously lacking in the consensus that Dr. Jones had achieved:

..... above all that there is the attitude of the native: definitely hostile to any type of school which is not free from missionaries. When I speak of cooperation, I do not mean cooperation between the missionaries and the Government merely. I mean cooperation between the missionaries, the LNC and the Government. I can get the Government to cooperate with the missionaries, and I can get the Government to cooperate with the LNCs, but my difficulty is to get the missionaries to see the native point of view.¹⁰¹

It was this sense that the African viewpoint must be sought out and accorded serious attention that most separated Jones' and Scott's approaches to African education. Admittedly Local Native Councils were only in the planning stage when the Commission had been in Kenya; there had nevertheless been indications even then that some such open expression of African resentment might be forthcoming. The Commission had deliberately brought Aggrey with them to investigate the state of African feelings, and he had warned of 'subterranean meetings and a deep rumbling that may prophesy an earthquake'.¹⁰² But Jones did not let this affect his educational preferences; rather it had confirmed his conviction that the methods of the Southern States were supremely relevant to Kenya.

101. H.S. Scott to J.H. Oldham, 17 June, 1929, file Q-A, Edinburgh House.

102. J.E.K. Aggrey to W.E. Owen, 15 April, 1924, Owen papers, Acc. 83, Church Missionary Society Archives, London. Also, A. Ruffel Barlow to B.D. Gibson, 24 February, 1926, 'I think that perhaps the Phelps-Stokes Report takes it rather for granted that the Africans are going to be willing to accept without demur whatever type of education we choose to adopt for them. Whereas, as Dr. Aggrey made clear, the Africans are liable to have definite and strong views on the matter'. Q-A, Edinburgh House.

The conclusions of Dr. Jones' investigation of Negro Schools in the Southern States were identical to the Phelps-Stokes Commission's Kenya tour: education to be changed from the dominant white model; very few safeguards to be given for higher education;¹⁰³ and it to be clearly understood that no education at all was preferable to certain forms of independent Negro or African school. It had been intended that the paramountcy of native African interests should shine out from the Kenya Report. But if anything, it encouraged complacency and the view that the Kenya regime required not more criticism but larger support.¹⁰⁴ The effect of the Report was in fact to make it just a little more difficult to associate the African with the benefits of

103. It is not suggested that no importance was attached in the East Africa Report to higher education at all, for there were a few passages which affirmed its importance (T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, pp. 43-45, 68-69, 267.) But these were overshadowed by the very strong emphasis upon adaptation to the needs of the simple village communities, or by the stress on industrial skill. Importance must be attached to what people in Africa thought the Commission was recommending, and in this respect the East African Standard was representative: (Weekly edition, 1.3.24)

'We have heard nothing more sound enunciated in Kenya on the subject of education than Dr. Jesse Jones' basic principles, i.e. that education must bear a direct relationship to (1) hygiene, 2) home life, 3) industry (or more widely the correct use of the opportunities of environment.), and 4) recreation

The African requires to be taught his duty to himself. In his present stage to give him book learning is a waste of energy and funds'.

cf. also, chapter II, ref. 88; also chapter V, ref. 54.

104. J.W.C. Dougall to J.H. Oldham, 6 April, 1924, file on Tanganyika Education, Edinburgh House: 'Dr. Jones wrote you a few brief lines on Kenya. He feels that there is need for the Kenya Government to receive more confidence from the authorities at home. I believe he would say the same with respect to the settlers'. Also, T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, p.136.

culture and deep learning; and just a little easier to laugh with Lord Delamere, Kenya's settler-king, as he praised the Phelps-Stokes Commission with the following story:

Let me tell you a little story of the Phelps-Stokes visit. I was laid up and so they came to my house to meet a number of people and talk over their views on education. It was just at the time when people at home were talking a lot about our treatment of the Natives, and when Dr. Jesse Jones introduced a member of the delegation he said, 'Now, Lord Delamere, you will be very interested to meet Dr. Dillard whose ancestors were the largest slave owners in Alabama'. (laughter) He did not quite mean that. What he had meant to say was that when the U.S.A. had to deal with Negro education and development they had to call in the people of the South, who knew and had been brought up with the Negroes.

We still have our vagaries. A friend of mine who is here tonight visited a school in one of our Reserves. They were holding an examination, so he asked to see the paper. The first question was, "Who was Socrates, and what was his life's work?" (loud laughter) I am sure that whatever differences we may have about the right way, that is probably the wrong way.¹⁰⁵

105. Delamere Speech at East African Dinner, East Africa (London), 11, No.91, 17 June, 1926, p.818.

CHAPTER V

THE PHELPS-STOKES COMMISSIONS AND THE POLITICS OF NEGRO
EDUCATION

The Phelps-Stokes Commissions to Africa and their published findings were very far from being isolated ventures in recommending the educational values of Tuskegee to Africa. They had grown out of the bitter conflicts to determine an education relevant to Negro political status in America and were only one episode in the extension of those disputes to Africa. At times it was not so much that they were recommending Tuskegee, but that they were promoting it deliberately to counter-balance the Africa programmes of two other American Negro creeds - DuBois' Pan-Africanism and Garveyism. This fact made it increasingly difficult to regard 'adaptation' as a purely educational formula, since Garvey and DuBois (the latter with more valuable white support than he had had over Jones' Negro Education) showed the concept to be closely allied to African docility and continuing dependence on white leadership.

All three approaches to Africa were launched within the space of little more than a year at the end of the Great War. Dr. Moton of Tuskegee had been steered into African statesmanship in December 1918 with his appointment to represent Africa at the Peace Conference,¹ and had by January decided that an educational survey of Africa might be the best fulfilment of his office:

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1. Moton's role on the Presidential Peace Commission was to be on hand at the Peace Conference for consultation regarding African colonies. He did not in fact attend, but had some informal discussions with English and American authorities.

I am hoping the Phelps-Stokes Fund as soon as possible will study the African situation as Dr. Jones proposes, with a view as far as possible to helping those of the Peace Conference who will settle forever, I hope, the situation as regards Africa on a basis of human brotherhood, that is the development of the natives as the only safe method of colonization from a selfish as well as from a humanitarian viewpoint.²

Dr. DuBois inaugurated the first of his Pan-African Congresses the next month in Paris, and to a relatively small Negro elite from West Indies, Africa and America proposed a more radical readjustment of the African colonies than Moton was contemplating.³ Then on the first of August 1920 at a great international Negro Convention in Harlem, Marcus Garvey blazoned forth his own declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World.⁴ Three weeks later the First Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission sailed for Africa with Aggrey carefully groomed to counsel Tuskegee methods wherever he went.⁵

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2. R.R. Moton to Anson Phelps Stokes, 19 January 1919, box 71, G.F. Peabody Papers, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
 3. It is not suggested in this that there was as strong an antipathy between these two men as some white contemporaries thought. Moton had himself been very interested in the First Pan-African Congress, and, when in France, had used his influence with President Wilson's confidential adviser and others to allow the Congress to take place. (R.R. Moton to W.E.B. DuBois, 5th July 1919, Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1919, Tuskegee Institute Archives (hereinafter, RRM.GC. 1919.TUA.); see also R.R. Moton, Finding a Way Out (London, 1920), p.253. For Moton and the Second Pan-African Congress, see chapter VIII, refs.40-42.
 4. This Declaration is reproduced in Raymond Buell, The Native Problem in Africa (N.Y., 1928), vol. ii, Appendix XLIX, pp. 965-971; also Adolph Edwards, Marcus Garvey, 1887-1940 (London, 1967), pp. 12-13. For a fuller account of Garvey, see Edmund D. Cronon, Black Moses (Madison, 1955). Much new material on Garveyism is contained in Mr. Jabez Langley's Ph.D. thesis being completed at Edinburgh University, West African Aspects of the Pan-African Movements: 1900-1945.
 5. J.E.K. Aggrey to R.R. Moton, 16 April 1923, 'We are hoping to introduce many features of Tuskegee and Hampton in Africa. We will need your personal and official influences.' (RRM.GC.1923.TUA.).

British missionary leaders most concerned with sending the Commission had believed from the beginning that there were serious political issues potentially involved, and were prepared to make these quite clear to Dr. Jones in the months before he left. A.G. Fraser, for instance, found it possible at this stage to combine the greatest admiration for Tuskegee and its President⁶ with the conviction that the Commission should be used to investigate the evils of exploitation in South and East Africa.⁷ And J.H. Oldham thought it conceivable that some useful alliance could be forged between Jones' ideals and those of Norman Leys, an ex-colonial servant, who was already one of the most determined critics of white settlers in Africa.⁸ To further the co-operation between

6. A.G. Fraser was at this point leading the Village Education Commission to India for which it had been decided that knowledge of the American South was a prerequisite. A.G. Fraser to G.F. Peabody, 12 July 1919, (RRM.GC.1919.TUA). Fraser had been suggesting to Peabody that Dr. Moton be put on the League of Nations by America - 'that he be there to guard Africa'.

7. Ibid.

8. A useful summary of Leys' experience in East Africa is given by E.B. Denham, Colonial Secretary of Kenya, 27 March 1925, C.O. 533/330, Public Record Office, London: 'Dr.N.M.Leys was in the service of the East African Protectorate from 28th August, 1905 to 31st August, 1913. Prior to joining Kenya service he apparently spent some four years in Africa. A considerable portion of his service here was spent on the Coast.... But in 1911 he wrote a report, ostensibly a medical report, in which, as he himself claims, he 'described the disgraceful failure of our work on the Coast'.

In April 1912 he was transferred from the Coast to Fort Hall, and again found himself at variance with the policy of Government. He disapproved strongly of the Masai move, and made representations on the subject to Govt. It was held that he arranged for a lawyer, Mr. Morrison, to visit the Masai Chief Legalishu, and it was held that he was not entitled to take such action while still in receipt of Govt. pay..... He was transferred to Nyasaland. In 1918 he retired on pension'. For Leys' account of the Masai land annexation, see N.M. Leys, Kenya (London, 1924), pp. 86-125.

Oldham and Leys had worked in close conjunction in opposition to the Kenya labour ordinance of 1919, files on Kenya-Labour, Edinburgh House, London.

the two men, Negro Education was recommended to Leys as 'exceedingly valuable',⁹ while Jones was sent a detailed analysis of the causes and solutions of African unrest which summarised Leys' sixteen years' experience in British East Africa, Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa.¹⁰

Leys' document could have been exceedingly relevant to Jones' purposes, since he was chiefly concerned like Jones to propose a colonial policy that would make for African stability through education; moreover, he too had had first hand experience of the results of American Negro education which had helped to confirm his African proposals. But here the similarity ended. For the Negro education Leys had in mind was that of John Chilembwe, leader of the abortive 1915 Nyasaland Rising.¹¹ Leys deliberately stressed in this memorandum of 1918 the fact that Chilembwe's 'knowledge of English was perfect, he had read widely and had sent his sons to America for education'.¹² The point was, however, introduced not as an obvious reason for curtailing such literary education, but as a plea for even wider education and for giving responsibility and attention to those who secured it:

9. J.H. Oldham to N.M. Leys, 3 September 1919, file on East Africa-Kenya (hereinafter Q-B), Edinburgh House.

10. Norman Leys to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 7 February 1918 (48 pages), copy in file Q-B, Edinburgh House.

11. Ibid., pp. 30-34; for the full significance of this rising, which Leys believed to be 'the first attack of a new malady', see G. Shepperson and T. Price, Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915 (Edinburgh, 1958).

12. Leys, op.cit., p.31. See the exact nature of Chilembwe's English in G.A. Shepperson and T. Price, op.cit., pp. 537-538.

The touchstone of educational policy, and through education of all policy in Africa, is the relation of governments with the class of educated natives..... The importance of these men lies, not in their being a necessity, as clerks and so forth, to the machinery of Government, but in their being taken as models by an increasing number of their countrymen.....

Nevertheless, to guide the thought and ambition of these men, and to gain their sympathy and cooperation, should be part of Government's deliberate policy. A place must be given them in the state comparable with their influence on society. Otherwise they inevitably pass into opposition.¹³

Although both men attached supreme importance to the role of the school,¹⁴ it is difficult to understand how Oldham could have contemplated any form of alliance between them, for basically Leys would make Africa safe by more independence, and Jones by less. And for industrial education too, Leys had already laid down the consequences of his own political philosophy; industrial training should be aimed neither at providing artisans for the European commercial community, not at reviving village anachronisms, but primarily it should develop 'real, large scale industries, having insatiable demand from wide markets, like cotton or oil seed growing'.¹⁵ Scarcely surprising in the light of all

13. Leys, op.cit., pp. 45-46.

14. It is interesting, in view of his later relations with Jones, that Leys had in 1918 believed that he 'could organise education in East Africa, not to say Nyasaland, as well as anybody likely to be given the job.' (Leys to Lionel Curtis, 23 November 1918, file Q-B, Edinburgh House.) Oldham valued Leys' talent highly - especially at this stage, his views on missions and education, and had him write under the pseudonym, Fulani bin Fulani, several articles for his International Review of Missions (IRM): see 'A Problem in East African Missions', IRM, viii, 1919, pp. 155-172; 'Native Races and their Rulers', IRM, viii, 1919, pp. 263-266; 'Christianity and Labour Conditions in Africa', IRM, ix, 1920, pp. 544-551.

15. Leys, see reference 10, p. 45.

this, was that sector of American Negro opinion which Leys was beginning to heed: after the 1919 Pan-African Congress in Paris, he had begun to be impressed by a 'M. Burghardt du Bois, a man of character, ability and power to lead in quite exceptional degree' and had shown some considerable sympathy for 'his new liberation campaign, to be preached to Africans'.¹⁶

There is however little evidence from the West Africa Report that Jones thought Leys' document anything more than an indirect confirmation of his own outlook. His own Report was studded with references to the education of American Negroes, but they were all drawn from that type which had received the greatest publicity in his earlier Negro Education. Attention was continually focussed on Washington and Moton, Tuskegee and Hampton, and the little Penn School on St. Helena Island was declared to be the closest model for African education.¹⁷ The casual reader would scarcely have gained an idea that Negroes had ever aspired any higher - apart from one short passage in Anson Phelps Stokes' introduction to the volume:

The time has passed when the old thesis can be successfully maintained that a curriculum well suited to the needs of a group on a given scale of civilisation in one country is necessarily the best for other groups

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16. Leys to Borden Turner, 3 May 1921, file Q-B, Edinburgh House. He was writing in the same letter, ten months before the Thuku riot, 'The field is ripe for one of those devastating risings that carry before them those suddenly become conscious of injustice.'
17. T.J. Jones, Education in Africa (New York, 1922); consult indexes for references to Hampton Institute, Jeanes Fund, Rosenwald Schools, Washington, Moton, Tuskegee; for Penn School, see pp. 34-35.

on a different level of advancement in another country or section.

This was the natural mistake generally made by New England in dealing with the Negro in the southern states of America immediately after emancipation. For the many as distinct from the few, the results were small in comparison with those that came later based on General Armstrongs's vital work at Hampton, where education was adapted directly to a people's needs. Here there was real education.¹⁸

Furthermore, the two colleges for higher education that there were in Africa received a commentary somewhat similar to what Lincoln and other universities had been awarded in the Negro Education report.¹⁹

There were further parallels with Jones' earlier work. The general effect of the first Phelps-Stokes Report upon independent Negro initiatives was not so readily determinable as in America. But the Yergan affair had already shown Jones over-anxious to scrutinise the safety of individual Negroes for African work.²⁰ Nor was that an isolated episode, however, but part of a definite policy to play down those types of independent American Negro and African enterprise in Africa that commended themselves to DuBois and Garvey - even to the extent of not mentioning when mission stations were headed by American Negroes. On this matter, an extreme example of Jones' caution was shown in his description of the work of the American Congregational Mission in Angola. In the published Report, there was no mention that the oldest station of this mission was under the direction of Mr. Hastings, a native Jamaican, and another station under

18. Ibid., p.xiii.

19. Ibid., pp. 109, 205, for Fourah Bay College and the South African Native College. For Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, see chapter II, reference 82.

20. See chapter III, references 81-90.

Mr. Hector McDowell, an American Negro graduate of Talladega College.²¹ And that this reticence was no accident was shown in Jones' more private account of the Commission's tour:

The home board (of the Congregational Church) plan to have Negro churches send more workers supported by themselves. It is to be hoped that the board will exercise great care in pursuing this policy. The relationship of missionaries on the field to the government and to the natives is exceedingly delicate. Our observations in Africa indicate that only the most thoughtful, cooperative type of American or English Negro can be helpful with the mission fields.²²

More than this, there was even a parallel to the way that, in the States, Jones' word had become almost necessary to ensure philanthropic support. Mrs. Adelaide Casely Hayford, the wife of the famous Gold Coast barrister, had been in the States soliciting aid for a new girls' school for Sierra Leone, run in fact on model Phelps-Stokes lines.²³ Yet Dr. Jones had been instrumental in having at least one donor withdraw her contribution by pointing out 'the relative usefulness of money placed in a school that had no assurance of going on, or the number of schools like Tuskegee and others in this country which are assured of continuance'.²⁴ This

21. T.J. Jones, Journal of the West Africa Phelps-Stokes Commission, (copy in Edinburgh House), p. 186, entry for Friday, February 4th 1921; also T.J. Jones, Education in Africa, pp. 239-243.

22. T.J. Jones, Journal, p. 186.

23. Adelaide Casely Hayford, 'A Girls' School in West Africa', Southern Workman, lv, No.10, October 1926, pp. 449-456. For Jones' attitude to African independent schools, see further chapter VIII, reference 115.

24. G.F. Peabody to Mrs. Casely Hayford, 7 January, 1924, box 20, G.F. Peabody papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. In view of Jones' suggestion that the donor should transfer her contribution to Tuskegee, it is interesting that Tuskegee itself had raised through its Y.M.C.A. more than \$100 for Mrs. Hayford's school. (RRM. Local Correspondence, 1920, TUA.)

incident, with several others like it, were no doubt of little enough significance in themselves. They do however illustrate what has been touched on before - Dr. Jones' fear not only of the radical Negro, but also of the uncommitted or marginal man.²⁵ And they put into somewhat more accurate perspective the claims for Tuskegee methods that the Commission was expounding.

Once the Commission had returned to England in August 1921, the confrontation between Tuskegee and Pan-African propaganda for Africa was sharpened by both Jones and DuBois again being in England at the same time, and seeking to put their own point of view before various groups of people.²⁶ One of those people they both conferred with at some length during the same week was Dr. Norman Leys,²⁷ who was thus ideally placed to judge the issues that had divided the two men for more than ten years. He had before this time read widely both Washington literature and some work by DuBois, but had not felt it necessary to judge between the two schools.²⁸ The outcome was not now difficult to predict.

25. See chapter III, reference 97. G.F. Peabody commented significantly on this trait to James Hardy Dillard, 'I think, entre nous, that Dr. Jones stresses his fear of radical negroes overmuch'. (G.F. Peabody to J.H. Dillard, 7 Dec. 1921, G.F. Peabody papers, box 15, Library of Congress, Washington.) See further, W.E.B. DuBois, 'Thomas Jesse Jones', Crisis, xxii, No. 6, Oct, 1921, p. 256.

26. Jones and DuBois had coincided once before in England, see chapter II, reference 128.

27. N. Leys to J.H. Oldham, 22 August 1921, file East Africa-Kenya-Education General (hereinafter Q-A) Edinburgh House.

28. N. Leys to R.R. Moton, 11 January 1922, RRM. Misc. papers, 1922, TUA.

Dr. Leys began to see a good deal of DuBois, subscribed to the Crisis magazine, and attended the Second Pan-African Congress at the end of August.²⁹ For Jones it was a very important reverse; Leys had become convinced that the Phelps-Stokes Africa policy, as expressed by its chief architect, assumed a permanent status significantly different for Negroes than for whites. He confided this view at a very crucial time to Oldham who was working at a book on Christianity and the race problem:³⁰

There is no sense whatever in trying to treat the least of human creatures as a Jesus if in his soul there are innate deficiencies. Let me give you an illustration of how intensely practical a question the alternative raises. I pressed Jesse Jones to tell me whether he thought American negroes as a whole different in nature and capacity from the Europeans they live among and whether he expected from them a different kind of future. He admitted that he did. I told him that explained everything, to me, of his differences with Du Bois and others..... Jones in effect says it isn't wise, it isn't sensible to teach a negro child what European children are taught because as men they have a different status.³¹

It is interesting that Leys considered the issue sufficiently important for him to write direct to Dr. Moton at Tuskegee and ask him to confirm or deny the impression he had just gained of Jones and DuBois.³²

29. Dr. DuBois met Dr. Leys at a meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Questions of the Labour Party, August 26th, 1921, along with Sidney Webb, John Harris, and Leonard Woolf. For Leys' views of the importance of the Crisis, see Leys to Miss Gollock, 18 December 1921, Race Folder formerly in Edinburgh House, now in the International Missionary Council Archives, Geneva. The Pan-African Congress (London session) took place on 28th and 29th August, 1921. For this Second Pan-African Congress, see W.E.B. DuBois, 'A Second Journey to Pan-Africa', The New Republic, Dec. 7th, 1921, pp. 39-42.

30. J.H. Oldham, Christianity and the Race Problem (London, 1924).

31. Leys to Oldham, 14 November 1921, folder on race, I.M.C. archives, Geneva.

32. See reference 28.

What Moton replied is not known, but it is clear on other evidence that Moton was not prepared to be pressed by his white supporters into a personal vendetta with DuBois.³³ Despite this, he was increasingly being elevated by white missionary leaders into a position of Negro spokesman on Africa which had the effect albeit involuntarily of throwing him into apparent competition with DuBois.

Oldham, in his second visit to Tuskegee, had co-opted Moton to be one of the representatives for Africa in the International Missionary Council, and Moton had therefore an influence at the highest level on missionary policy in Africa at the 1921 session.³⁴ Jones and Aggrey were also prominent at the same conference, and this monopoly of Phelps-Stokes and Tuskegee opinion over education in Africa understandably gave DuBois the feeling that policy-making was quite out of his hands. He commented bitterly:

A secret conference on missionary and educational work among Negroes in Africa and elsewhere has been held at Lake Mohonk. The Negro race was represented by Thomas Jesse Jones and R.R. Moton.³⁵

33. Moton had rejected the idea that he should lead a counter-publicity drive against DuBois, see chapter VII, ref. 30.

34. J.H. Oldham to R.R. Moton, 5 March 1921, RRM.GC.1921.TUA; also, F. Lenwood, 'The International Missionary Council', International Review of Missions, xi, 1922, p. 41.

35. The Crisis, xxiii, No.2, December 1921, p. 81.

It is very important in view of the exceedingly conspicuous role which Aggrey played in the Phelps-Stokes Fund, that DuBois never mentioned his name in any of his frequent attacks on the Fund. And although Aggrey had no compunction in attacking Garvey, there is no record of his attacking DuBois publicly during his two African tours. It is further evidence of Aggrey's living out the one parable that he never told to any but all-black audiences:

'The cardinal sin of whites is arrogance - the trouble with us Africans is jealousy. If we have a leader, even a first class one, we want to pull him down. I once went to a lumber camp in Canada, and I saw an enormous fir being felled, with ropes right up to the top - scores of
[Contd.]

Whatever DuBois' reaction, Jones' and Aggrey's personal pre-eminence in missionary conventions on Africa was assured, for they had now a quite unrivalled knowledge of mission work throughout the Western, Central and Southern belts of Africa; it was very natural that they should dominate the Foreign Mission Convention of North America when they discussed education in its 1922 session.³⁶ And it is some indication of the success that both they and J.H. Oldham had in pointing to Tuskegee as the fount of missionary inspiration for Africa that Dr. Robert Moton should be called across to the great Scottish Churches Missionary Conference in Glasgow later that year.³⁷ There, he linked the 'conspicuous' progress of the Negro population of America to the education of Tuskegee and Hampton, and both of these to the development of Africa. And in this light, he explained even the slave trade now appeared as the working of Providence.³⁸

35. Contd.] men pulling. Finally down it came. "Have you ever seen such a wonderful sight?" the foreman asked me. "It's not wonderful so much as interesting. You have missed the whole point. Look who was pulling on the ropes - Canadian Negroes! Have you ever seen one hundred Negroes pulling together?"

I am indebted to Mr. A.G. Fraser (son of Principal Fraser of Achimota) for this story. He shared rooms with Aggrey in the early days of that college.

36. T.J. Jones, 'The Educational Needs of the People of Equatorial Africa', The Foreign Mission Conference of North America: Twenty-Ninth Annual Session 1922 (New York, 1922) pp. 168-176. See also discussion by Aggrey, *ibid.*, pp. 176-180.

37. The purpose of the convention was set forth by Donald Fraser, 'The Scottish Churches' Missionary Campaign', IRM, xi, 1922, pp. 286-294.

38. R.R. Moton, 'Problems and Development of the Negro Race', (address of R.R. Moton at Glasgow, Scottish Churches' Missionary Conference, October 17th, 1922) Tuskegee Student, xxxii, No. 17, Nov. 1, 1922; also 'Missionary Methods' Tuskegee Student, xxxii, No. 18, Nov. 15, 1922.

[Contd.]

Marcus Garvey, however, would not be spoken for on Africa in this manner any more than DuBois. Himself an ardent admirer of Tuskegee,³⁹ he yet felt that Moton should guard himself against manipulation; for whether Moton realised it or not, he was being used to recommend to Africans continued dependence on the white man:

Now that the Negro has started to think for himself the white Christian leaders and philanthropists realise that it will be very hard for them to convince us to accept their 'friendly protection'. Hence they feel that the best that can be done would be to get a representative Negro to say for them what they would very much like to have said. Our friend Dr. Moton is the fittest man for such a job, because he and his institution as well as Hampton Institute are the two Negro institutions that have received millions of dollars from white philanthropists to teach Negroes in the way that they should go.....

We hope that no member of our race will pay any attention to what Dr. Moton says in the matter of Africa's needs, because it is strange that he had nothing to say about Africa until he was called by these white missionaries and philanthropists to speak.⁴⁰

It was a charge that was echoed by several leading American Negroes at this time, however bitterly opposed to each other they might be on other matters.⁴¹ But what seems strange in retrospect, however, is not that the charge was made, but that it never more openly attached to Aggrey's role in the

38. Cont.] The providential nature of American slavery was not an uncommon theme with Washington, Moton or Aggrey, see B.T. Washington, Up From Slavery (Nelson Edition, Edinburgh), p.29; E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929), p. 128.

39. M.A. Garvey to R.R. Moton, 1 June 1917, (RRM.GC.1917, TUA). See further chapter I, ref. 62, and chapter VIII, reference 48.

40. The Negro World, xiii, No.10, Oct. 21st, 1922, p.1. Garvey underestimated Moton's personal interest in Africa, expressed most obviously in the encouragement of African staff and students at Tuskegee - see chapter VIII.

41. Cf. chapter III, reference 94. Dr. Jesse E. Moorland of the Y.M.C.A. had also fallen out with Jones on exactly this issue of 'handpicking' Negroes, see chapter II, ref. 96.

Phelps-Stokes Commissions.⁴² For if Aggrey was too occupied himself in gaining everybody's co-operation for Africa to notice the peculiar vulnerability of his role, there can be little doubt that Jones did increasingly see Aggrey and others as fulfilling precisely the function Garvey had mentioned.⁴³

As Jones had been under severe attack from all sectors of radical Negro opinion both during and after the West African Phelps-Stokes Commission,⁴⁴ it is not perhaps surprising that the Second Education Commission and its Report had an even greater propaganda content than the first. Indeed many of its actions and much of the subsequent report can only be fully understood as part of a continuing crusade by Jones against DuBois, Garvey and Carter G. Woodson.

Much more time both in Africa and in the Report was spent consequently on explaining away the recent demands for racial equality and the various forms of independent status for Africans. Nor was Jones' concern only with counteracting

42. This must be partly explained by Aggrey's capacity for understanding and friendship with those very Negroes most critical of Jones and the Fund. Mr. and Mrs. Aggrey were close friends, for instance, of the Yergans, and Aggrey had himself a keen sympathy for Dr. Woodson's position; see Aggrey to G.F. Peabody, 17 November 1923, box 18, G.F. Peabody papers, 1923, Library of Congress, Washington.

43. Cf. Dr. Jones' scheme to finance a Negro journalist, Lester Walton, to conduct constructive propaganda amongst Negroes and whites, T.J. Jones to W.W. Alexander, 22 December 1922, 'I am clear that a colored man of this type would render a more important service in the North than any white man who could be obtained. At present I am endeavouring to raise a fund to make it possible for him to give his whole time to the matter of publicity. The thought is that he would continue working on his present basis as a well recognised free lance writer To work in this way would be to avoid arousing unnecessary suspicions'. (RRM. GC.1923.TUA.).

44. This was very largely because of the Yergan affair, see chapter III, ref. 90.

radical American Negro propaganda; there was possibly a reaction to his encounter with Leys on the question of race equalities. For it was strongly denied that any rating of equalities or inequalities was valuable; instead, it was 'sound and helpful' to appreciate the reality of racial differentiations.⁴⁵

And on the issue of greater independence for Africans, there was a further pointer to programmes for Africa politically different from his own:

The conflicting ideals of those who would serve are in some instances as divisive and unfortunate as selfishness and prejudice. The more recent of these ideals are represented by such words as 'Self-Determination', 'Self-government', 'Self-expression'. Liberty, independence and self-determination, with their comparatively unknown or untried experiments, are far more attractive to idealistic temperaments than trusteeship, protectorate and colony, whose failures have often been allowed to over-shadow their successes. The thought of freedom seems to have far more charm than that of direction and discipline and order.⁴⁶

As has been seen in Kenya itself, Aggrey had been of great value in preaching against Garveyism, an activity he had continued later in Southern Africa.⁴⁷ It was generally the Commission's policy to leave the winning of Africans themselves to Aggrey, but on more than one occasion Dr. Jones seems to have taken the initiative himself with a local ruler, and used Tuskegee's good offices to anticipate propaganda from other Negro sources; he sought Dr. Moton's co-operation in one of these plans:

45. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, p.77.

46. Ibid.

47. E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa, pp. 122, 124, 176; also chapter IV, ref. 71.

Today I conferred with His Highness, the Sultan of Zanzibar. He is an able and delightful man. I wish you could send him Finding a Way Out with a brief letter of appreciation for his kindness to us. You would thus begin to bind him to you and so help avoid a relationship to the radical forces of our country.⁴⁸

In discussing the Reports from this propagandist angle, it has been implied throughout that they could be taken as expressing Dr. Jones' views rather than any of the other Commissioners. Both Reports were indeed almost entirely of his authorship, but it is significant that his monopoly over the contents had not been ceded willingly in the East Africa Report. While they were still on tour, Garfield Williams and others had been so alarmed at Jones dictating the mind of the Commission that a form of joint authorship had been agreed on.⁴⁹ This had however been reversed on the return to London and the Report written by Jones alone under the greatest threat of non-co-operation from the two English authorities, Vischer and Williams.⁵⁰ Their differences with Jones can only be conjectured, but some light is thrown on possible areas of disagreement from one of Jones' co-workers in Edinburgh House.

Miss Georgina Gollock, co-editor with Oldham of the International Review of Missions, had noted in the draft of the Report the almost complete absence of any criticism of

48. T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 14 April 1922, (RRM.GC.1925. TUA). Jones was also anxious that Moton use his influence with President Coolidge to have the Prince Regent of Ethiopia, Ras Tafari (Haile Selassie) come to the States, T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 6 February, 1924 (RRM.GC.1925. TUA). The book mentioned was R.R. Moton's, Finding a Way Out: an autobiography. (London, 1920).

49. Hanns Vischer to J.H. Oldham, 8 April, 1924, file Q-E, Edinburgh House.

50. G. Gollock to J.H. Oldham, undated memo of 1924/5, file on Education - Tanganyika, Edinburgh House.

white settlers and government and thought this was a potential danger to the Report's intended objectivity. She had made therefore an attempt to have Anson Phelps Stokes redress the balance:

I believe that his (Jones') attitude may be the means of inaugurating a new kind of fellowship, a new and fuller understanding just where it is needed most; but the reality and the extent of this sympathy has a side of danger, and it is for this I think a very careful reading should be given to the Report as it nears completion. Individual sentences or paragraphs in a certain chapter may be in true proportion. When they recur in chapter after chapter, they may make a total impression of something that is more than the truth..... I am anxious lest there should be anything in the Report which should seem in the least degree to condone actions which are not quite worthy, or to fail to hold an even balance where the interests of the Africans are at stake.⁵¹

Miss Gollock was anxious that Anson Phelps Stokes insert somewhere an explanation for this absence of criticism of the white settlers and government. He could, she suggested, stress that the Commission had deliberately steered clear of political issues as beyond their brief. What, however, Miss Gollock failed to see in the Report was not that it underplayed white injustice, and avoided controversy; rather it entertained controversy by enthusiastically supporting a large increase in white settlement. The Report gave the strongest possible backing to the notion of a great white belt extending from East to South Africa, in which South Africans would play the dominant part, and where "possession" would be "nine points of the law".⁵² It is not improbable

51. G. Gollock to Anson Phelps Stokes, 15 January 1925, file L-1, Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives, New York. N.Y.

52. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, pp. 82-83.

therefore that it was with something in these assumptions that Vischer and Williams quarrelled.⁵³

It might equally well have been the question of cultural education for Africans or the place of African leadership in East Africa that caused disagreement, for on both these matters Miss Gollock felt also that there was a danger of the Report appearing reactionary and attracting adverse criticism.⁵⁴ Indeed, it seems not impossible that the criticism she anticipated was from DuBois.⁵⁵ Her suggestions on the Report, however, appear to have had no more effect on Jones than Leys had had earlier, and if she foresaw DuBois' hostility, it was probably no more than Jones did himself.

Fresh fuel was to be poured on this antagonism to DuBois and his supporters soon after the Commission had returned to England for the second time. It consisted of the publication in October 1924 of Norman Leys' book, Kenya, one of the most ruthlessly outspoken exposés of white exploitation to

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53. Jones personally believed that his Report had 'endeavored to avoid questions that are so controversial as to only cause misunderstandings,' T.J. Jones to W.E. Owen, 18 December 1924, ACC. 83, Owen Papers, Church Missionary Society Archives, London.
54. G. Gollock to Anson Phelps Stokes, 15 January 1925, file L-1, P.S.F.A.
55. She was one of those who felt the Phelps-Stokes Fund should do more to combat DuBois' propaganda, see chapter vii, ref. 30. Miss Gollock was correct in predicting that the Report would be understood as official disapproval of cultural education for Africans. East Africa (this journal described itself as 'The only newspaper in Europe devoted exclusively to the interests of those living, trading, holding property or otherwise interested in East and Central Africa'.) hailed the Report as "The Last Word on Native Education", and ran a series of articles commending the Report to the white settlers; cf. East Africa, 1, No.32, April 1925, pp. 676-678; No.33, May 7, 1925, pp. 694-695.

appear in the interwar years.⁵⁶ The timing was crucial; it antedated Jones' East Africa Report by several months and took good care to condemn in advance what Leys believed its educational heresies and its accommodation to white settlement. In three pages of passionate analysis of Jones' ideology, it demonstrated the central political importance of African education and concluded:

The reader may consider that too much attention has been paid to these false educational ideals. He may be assured that in Africa the obscurantist is an even greater danger than the exploiter. What the African in Kenya needs is knowledge, enlightenment, the acquisition of the appetite which makes men seek the truth. He needs these exactly as the whole human race needs them.⁵⁷

The publicity attending Kenya⁵⁸ and its attempt to discredit Jones' policies was only the beginning of a series of reverses that threatened completely to undermine Jones' credibility as expert on the Negro in America and Africa. DuBois had himself travelled to West Africa in the winter of 1924, and on his return had had published in a nationally respected journal his famous 'Worlds of Color';⁵⁹ it was a sort of miniature second instalment of Leys' work, investigating the 'dark colonial shadow' that walked behind every great

56. Norman Leys, Kenya (London, 1924); it had been Leys' original intention to bring out a book on Kenya in collaboration with W. McGregor Ross, another fierce critic of Kenya. Ross' contribution was so delayed that it came out eventually as a separate book, Kenya from Within. A Short Political History (London, 1927). For a useful assessment of Ross' book, see F.B. Welbourn, East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches (London, 1961), pp. 114-115.

57. Leys, Kenya, p. 392.

58. It had run through two editions before Jones' Education in East Africa was published.

59. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Worlds of Color', Foreign Affairs (Washington), iii, No.3, April 1925, pp. 423-444.

European power, and reserving for Britain's African governments the heaviest strictures of all; on any rating of colonial racism, DuBois argued, Britain had no competitor.⁶⁰ This was, of course, in direct contradiction to everything that the Phelps-Stokes Report would claim the month afterwards, and it made both Jones and Oldham feel that something must be done to set the record straight on British Colonial policy.⁶¹

But the contemporary situation in the Negro colleges was equally crucial for Jones, and was an essential counterpart to the conflicts over African education and white rule. Since June 1924, DuBois had been waging a campaign to free Fisk University, his own alma mater, from the oppressive white leadership of President McKenzie.⁶² And yet even here there was an element of the old vendetta; Jesse Jones was the Secretary of the Fisk Board of Trustees, and believed that McKenzie was one of the only men who had really tried to adapt Negro college education to Jones' own ideals.⁶³ He assured the Board that a blow would be struck for 'Fisk, Negro education and for race relationships in America and

60. Ibid., p. 423.

61. J.H. Oldham to T.J. Jones, 5 May 1925, Jones' file, Edinburgh House. Oldham had been drawn in through the Governor of Sierra Leone's writing to object to DuBois' allegations against his Colony. Jones was then asked by Oldham whether he could not use influence with Foreign Affairs to put the other side.

62. DuBois, invited to give the principal Alumni Address at Fisk in 1924, had suggested in Dr. McKenzie's presence that he should resign and his place be taken by a Negro. For DuBois' speech in Fisk Memorial Chapel, June 2nd, 1924, see W.E.B. DuBois, 'Diuturni Silentii', Fisk Herald, xxxiii, No.1, 1924. Also L.A. Roy to T.J. Jones, 19 June 1924, file A-22, Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives, New York.

63. T.J. Jones to Paul Cravath, 20 August 1924 (RRM.GC. 1925. TUA).

Africa' if McKenzie could weather the storm.⁶⁴ But DuBois was more than ready for once to come down into the arena and distribute his own printed statements among the student body to encourage them in their protest. Student rioting broke out at least twice on the reception of DuBois' incitements, and on the most serious breakdown of order in February 1925, the President's account left no doubt where some of the inspiration came from:

This Wednesday night two of these leaders told Miss Boynton that it would be of no use for the President or any other representative of the faculty to come, and that they were going to keep up this sort of thing until the President's hair was white. The disorderly students overturned chapel seats, broke windows and fired shots terrifying the neighborhood for blocks around, all the while keeping up a steady shouting of "DuBois" and "Before I'd be a slave".⁶⁵

In the event, President McKenzie was forced into resignation two months later, and Jones in complete confusion had to admit the apparent defeat of the Hampton principle of white leadership in Negro colleges.⁶⁶ But while the Crisis was blazing its victory to other colleges,⁶⁷ Jones suggested a new policy to his board - a completely coloured faculty from the President down, and W.T.B. Williams, staff member at

64. Ibid.

65. F.A. McKenzie, 14 Feb. 1925, 'Letter written to an Alumnus who asked for information', file III, b.6, Acc. No. 329, McKenzie Papers, Tennessee State Archives, Nashville. Also, F.L. Broderick, op.cit., pp. 163-164.

66. T.J. Jones to F.A. McKenzie, 6 May 1925, III, b.6, McKenzie papers, Tennessee State Archives: 'I am all mixed up. I have been saying things that do not belong in Sunday School..... Well, what next? After us, the Deluge.'

67. W.E.B. DuBois thought the time appropriate for a general attack on restrictive philanthropy; see especially his 'Gifts and Education', The Crisis, xxix, No.4, February, 1925. See further chapter VIII, ref. 138; and F.L. Broderick, op.cit., pp. 163-4.

Tuskegee, and field agent of the Jeanes and Slater Boards as the new President. The rationale was exactly what Garvey had three years earlier analysed as the new philanthropic and missionary method of controlling Negroes in the post-war era. A safe Negro could more plausibly suggest unpopular methods than a white man.⁶⁸

Jones realised indeed that the same principle might be applied equally well in the international sphere, and if the right candidate could be found, would effectively nullify some of the recent radical statements over Africa.⁶⁹ Here there could be no doubt who Jones would select:

I have been giving serious consideration to some plans for Aggrey.... They are as follows. 1 That influences unfriendly to British Colonial policy, such as the articles in Foreign Affairs and the New York Times Current History by DuBois; Leys' book; the propaganda of Indians and others in this country, make it very desirable that the carefully presented statement⁷⁰ of an educated African like Aggrey should be produced.⁷¹

Jones proceeded to outline how Aggrey's still uncompleted Ph.D. along with other articles could be turned to this larger end, and proposed that the Colonial Office could grant him study leave from Achimota College where Aggrey was by this time assistant Vice-principal.⁷¹ As Achimota had not yet even opened, however, it was impossible that at this stage

68. T.J. Jones to McKenzie, see ref. 66; Fisk did not in the event have a Negro President as a result of McKenzie's resignation. Many Negroes, including Dr. Moton, who was also a Board member, had felt it highly inadvisable, R.R. Moton to T.J. Jones, 14 May 1925, (RRM.GC.1925.TUA).

69. Even Dr. Shantz of the East Africa Commission had, after reading Dr. Leys' book, decided that there had been 'a tendency to whitewash' the true nature of affairs in Kenya in Jones' report, H.L. Shantz to J.H. Oldham, 2 June 1925, box 314, formerly Edinburgh House, now I.M.C. Archives, Geneva.

70. T.J. Jones to J.H. Oldham, 14 July 1925, Jones' file, Edinburgh House.

71. E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa, p. 230.

Aggrey should be spared; his role in recommending to his fellow Africans a new kind of college that started from the bottom with a kindergarten and not a degree was much too vital.⁷² Nevertheless, it was a pointer towards this more conscious use of Aggrey in redressing slurs on British African policies, that he was given the opportunity to justify the new African education on the B.B.C. in November 1925.⁷³

These provisional plans for Aggrey were becoming in Jones' mind only a part of a wider conception whereby the peculiar appropriateness of Tuskegee-Hampton education could make itself felt throughout Africa. He now projected that white men with the correct experience of Southern education should go out to each African country paired with American Negroes who had been trained in the Hampton and Tuskegee ideals.⁷⁴ By the end of 1925 the first white educator had been selected for this programme, and had been sent to Liberia as supervisor of missionary education; but, as has been seen already, the real difficulty was finding suitable American Negro partners - an activity that had become doubly difficult after Woodson's and DuBois' critique of "handpicked" Negroes.⁷⁵

Associated with this new perspective on the value of the American Negro propagandist in Africa was the notion, now

72. Ibid., pp. 225-245.

73. J.E.K. Aggrey, 'The Prince of Wales College', (a wireless talk from London reproduced in Southern Workman, lv, Jan. 1926, pp. 39-42. The talk affirmed the value of Africanising the curriculum and stressed the interracial demands of Africa - "We in Africa cannot do without the white man any more than, I believe, the white man can do without us." p.40.

74. T.J. Jones to E.C. Sage, 18 December, 1925, file C-3, Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives, New York.

75. See chapter III, refs. 77-136.

suddenly popular among mission leaders in Britain and Africa, that Dr. Moton himself should make an African tour. It had originated with Donald Fraser who had called Moton to the Scottish Conference earlier, but was now taken up by Loram.⁷⁶ Oldham too thought that 'a visit to Africa by Moton, rightly prepared for, might have a most valuable and far reaching influence'. He had evidence from Uganda that Moton could most usefully continue the impetus for co-operation given by Aggrey's earlier visit, and thought it possible that he would also be welcome in Kenya.⁷⁷

Both these projects were made even more relevant by the fact that a major conference at Le Zoute on Christian Mission and education in Africa was being prepared for 1926. Organised primarily by Oldham, its educational objective was to ratify the new outlook of both the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and the Colonial Office Advisory Committee,⁷⁸ and interlock once and for all the development of African education with the philanthropic traditions of the Southern States.⁷⁹

76. T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 2 August, 1923, (RRM.GC.1923.TUA). J.H. Oldham to T.J. Jones, 3 December 1925, Jones' file, Edinburgh House.

77. Moton did not eventually go to Kenya or Uganda on his African tour; his journey was however regarded with the very gravest suspicion by the Negro World, see clippings for January 29th 1927, in Tuskegee Institute Archives.

78. E.W. Smith, Christian Mission in Africa: A Study based on the Proceedings of the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14th to 21st, 1926 (London, 1926). This official record of the conference was rightly described by A. Victor Murray as 'almost a new Tractatus Theologico-Politicus' in its analysis of Mission-Government cooperation in African education, A.V. Murray, The School in the Bush (London, 1929), p. 262. The first Command paper of the Advisory Committee for Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies (Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, cmd. 2374 March 1925) had been timed to coincide with the publication of Jones' Education in East Africa.

79. E.C. Sage (Asst. Secretary of the General Education Board) to T.J. Jones, 10 December 1925, file C-3, Phelps-Stokes

Oldham, in recognition of this correlation, had made it quite clear to Jesse Jones that everything would 'depend on getting over the right representatives of the coloured people in America, and of those among the whites who have been leaders in the work for the Negroes'.⁸⁰ Jones, for his part, had by now quite recovered from the upsets of the previous year, and with a World Conference in the offing, it was a temptation to feel that Africa really might soon be won for his four 'simples' of education.⁸¹ The policy was there, all that was required was for Loram, Oldham and himself to work as a triumvirate to push it through. He explained this, their continent-wide potential to Loram:

The three of us have real possibilities for the future of Africa It is thus important that we shall work out the bases of cooperation ...

That Oldham shall win Mission Societies and European Governments to our education programs; that you shall help formulate the administrative problems of both schools and Governments, and of course win Governments and others to these programs; that I shall help formulate the adaptations of education and exert any influence I may have in winning the support of America.⁸²

If this master plan to be ratified at the September World Conference took no account of African or American Negro reaction, that was very soon provided. Two months before the conference, DuBois delivered his most stinging indictment

79. Contd.] Fund Archives, New York, 'More and more I am looking forward with interest to the Belgium conference on Africa. Dr. Oldham said to me that he thought that African leaders must look to the Southern States more and more for information. Contrariwise, I am disposed to think that Southern education must be developed in the light of the needs of Africa.'

80. J.H. Oldham to T.J. Jones, 5 November 1925, Jones' file, Edinburgh House.

81. He had moreover just published the fullest account of the educational philosophy behind the 'four simples' of Home, Health, Environment and Recreation, in The Four Essentials of Education (New York, 1926).

82. T.J. Jones to C.T. Loram, 7 June, 1926, Jones' file, Edinburgh House.

yet of the two Phelps-Stokes African Education Reports.⁸³ He took the same ground that he had earlier held in his critique of Jones' Negro Education: Jones' animus against African higher education; his fear of all forms of Negro independence, and his accommodation to the commercial requirements of the white minorities in Africa. To DuBois both Africa Reports were simply further proof of the essentially political nature of Negro education:

This is the program of Thomas Jesse Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Fund in Africa. They are defending situations like that in Kenya, warning against agitation, seeking to substitute white leadership, white teachers and white missionaries for colored missionaries, and decrying and discrediting the educated black man the world over.⁸⁴

This tirade which concluded that 'the Phelps-Stokes Fund was making Africa safe for white folks'⁸⁵ did not fail to be heard. Indeed the reverberations were soon felt in the Gold Coast, and Aggrey thrown into the role Jones had cast for him, of counteracting DuBois' propaganda, and justifying the Phelps-Stokes Fund.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Aggrey's task was not made any easier by propaganda from the Negro World at the same period; for just a month before the Le Zoute conference, it brought out a full page editorial demonstrating that Africans 'need the same sort of education that Europeans

83. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Education in Africa: A Review of the Recommendations of the African Education Committee', The Crisis, xxxii, No.2, June 1926, pp. 86-89. DuBois had shown further evidence of his continuing association with Norman Leys by devoting some considerable space in The Crisis to a review article of Leys' Kenya, viz. 'Kenya - A Study of East African conditions as revealed by Norman Leys', The Crisis, xxxi, Feb. 1926, pp. 188-191.

84. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Education in Africa', see reference 83 above, p. 88.

85. Ibid., p. 89.

86. E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929), pp. 255-257.

need'.⁸⁷

None of this could, of course, prevent the Conference from reaching a very satisfactory consensus; its effect would come later in making it just a little more difficult to convince Africans that they needed a specially adapted type of education. The Conference itself, however, was a success within its own terms, for its membership did indeed symbolise just such a union of the Southern States and Africa as Jones and Oldham had worked for. Every major fund that worked in the American South was represented at the highest level. Dr. Dillard of the Jeanes and Slater Funds; E.C. Sage and Jackson Davis of the General Education Board, Leonard Outhwaite of the Spelman Rockefeller Board, Canon Anson Phelps Stokes and Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.⁸⁸ More than this, the educational methods of the South which Jones most approved were represented by Miss Thorn, Principal of Calhoun Coloured School, and Miss House of the Penn School.⁸⁹ But the extent to which the Conference was an endorsement of Jones' overall vision for education was no more expressively summed up than by E.W. Smith:

Scarcely a speech at Le Zoute was complete without the words 'adaptation', 'cooperation'. They were reiterated so frequently that at last speakers felt inclined to apologise for pronouncing them.⁹⁰

87. 'The Sort of Education Africans Need', The Negro World, xxi, No.1, August 14, 1926.

88. E.W. Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa, pp. 187-188.

89. Ibid; for the Penn School, see further chapter II, ref. 79; chapter VII, refs. 39-41.

90. E.W. Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa, p. 92.

As far as the attitudes of Leys and DuBois were concerned, such conspicuous missionary and philanthropic unanimity over the form of African education could only give further material for indignation and dispute. Another clash over the politics of African education was inevitable. The only difference this time was that the protagonists were not DuBois and Jones, but Leys and Oldham, by now in open hostility. The complete break between these two men who had co-operated to such effect in their resistance to Kenya's labour ordinances, had been coming for some time, but was very largely due to just those issues of race and education that the Phelps-Stokes Commission had raised but not clarified. In Leys' view, Oldham's book, Christianity and the Race Problem⁹¹ had failed to take account of the racial undercurrents in Jones' educational theories, and had, instead of dismissing the notion of race itself as illusory, returned with 'conspicuous fairness' a verdict of not proven.⁹²

It was on these grounds that Leys now castigated him for his part in spreading Phelps-Stokesism; for Oldham had not

91. It was also because, in Leys' opinion, Oldham had for tactical reasons adopted a softer line on Kenya in his recent belief that progress in Kenya must be with the acquiescence of the whites. See chapter IV, reference 13. There is an interesting parallel between T.J. Jones' life-long conviction that race antagonism could be solved by the collection and presentation of untroversial data on race matters, and Oldham's faith during the mid-twenties that the Kenya crisis could be outflanked by sufficiently rigorous research. For a treatment of Oldham's trust in research at this period, see George Bennett's 'Paramountcy to Partnership: J.H. Oldham and Africa', Africa (London), xxx, October 1960, No.4, p. 358.

92. See reference 31 above. Oldham's book was very far from being illiberal, but it had led to Leys crystallising finally his own rejection of race, Leys to J.H. Oldham, 3 July 1924, file Q-B, Edinburgh House, 'I now believe the whole conception of race is an illusion, one of the many shadows men pursue, and that Paul's statement that

only been effective in having the missionary societies ratify Dr. Jones' adapted education, but he had also been largely responsible for it becoming the official doctrine of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on African Education.⁹³ In the bitter correspondence that they carried on in the national press over Jesse Jones' Reports and African education,⁹⁴ the key term was adaptation with all its widely different interpretations. For Oldham this was an educational term, for Leys a poorly disguised formula for political inferiority. The truth was that it could assuredly be both, and, as has been noticed in Kenya, it was very largely its ambiguity that temporarily secured the co-operation of all the variant white groups in the cause of African education.

There were indeed substantial grounds during these months,

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92. Contd.] racial differences inherent in people themselves, apart from history or circumstances, do not exist, is true. I now feel that I should rejoice if my daughter married a non-European, if she and he were of the same mind. I would rejoice with trembling but be proud of her.'
93. N.M. Leys, The Scots Observer, November 27, 1926, p. 13.
94. N.M. Leys, letter to Manchester Guardian, 26.10.26; J.H. Oldham letter to Manchester Guardian, 29.10.26. N.M. Leys, 'Christianity and Race: A New Policy for Missions', The Scots Observer (Glasgow), i, No.7, Nov. 13, 1926, p. 4; N.M. Leys, 'Missions and Governments: Objects of Christian Education', The Scots Observer, i, Nov. 27, 1926, p. 13; J.H. Oldham, 'African Education: Missions and Governments', The Scots Observer, i, 11 December, 1926, p. 13; N.M. Leys, letter to The Scots Observer, i, 18 December, 1926, p. 11.

if not for very much longer,⁹⁵ for Jones to believe Oldham committed to the same opinion as himself on some issues of African education and even white settlement in Kenya. Oldham had recently written articles in the Times asking for more public recognition of Kenya's progress, which Jones thought surpassed even his own 'appreciation of the terrible Nordics in that part of the world!'⁹⁶ For his own part, Jones continued in America to take every available opportunity of protecting white Kenya's image against corrosion.⁹⁷ As for West Africa, he had just successfully lobbied A.G. Fraser to release Aggrey for the important propaganda work against the detractors of British Colonial Policy.⁹⁸ It had begun to look as if the propaganda conflict was entering a new phase.

Aggrey's research work in the subject of Jones' choice was to be undertaken between May and November 1927. 'It is now going to be about British rule in West Africa,' he wrote Jones. 'Those who hate Great Britain and are Anglo-phobists will have their eyes opened.'⁹⁹ But it must remain

95. By 1930, Oldham's views were very much less approved by Jones. As a member of the Hilton Young Commission (Cmd 3378, 1929) Oldham had shown that he sincerely doubted the good intentions of the whites in Kenya toward African progress, and had followed this with strong criticism of General Smuts' Rhodes Lectures of 1930. See further T.J. Jones to J.H. Oldham, 17 January 1930, file L-1, Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives. Also, J.H. Oldham, White and Black in Africa: a critical Examination of the Rhodes Lectures of General Smuts (London, 1930). For Oldham's crucial part in the Hilton Young Commission, George Bennett, Kenya: A Political History (London, 1963), pp. 67-68.

96. J.H. Oldham, leading articles on Kenya, The Times, 9.6.26; 10.6.26; cf. further, T.J. Jones to B.D. Gibson, 28 June 1926, Jones' file, Edinburgh House; and J.H. Oldham to Archbishop of Canterbury, 2 March, 1927, Grigg papers, General Correspondence, 1927.

97. T.J. Jones to J.R. Orr, 1 February, 1926, Q-G, Edinburgh House.

98. E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa, p. 271.

99. Ibid.

a very open question whether Aggrey's work would really have served the purpose Jones intended, even if it had been completed.¹⁰⁰ As it was, J.E.K. Aggrey died quite unexpectedly in New York only two months after starting on his project with his thesis still in note form.¹⁰¹

Aggrey's death was a much greater blow to Jones than anything else could have been. It was not simply a question of losing after twenty five years the only African he had ever really known well. His single most perfect exemplar of Negro behaviour had been removed. For Aggrey had been the very spirit of the adaptation and co-operation that Jones had preached round Africa. And yet it must be seriously doubted whether the uniqueness of Aggrey had not in the long run had an unfortunate effect on Jones' view of African and American Negro progress. For Aggrey had been a continual reminder to Jones that protest was not essential to leadership, and that a Negro could reach the highest development without casting off his white counsellors. Aggrey had further taken the greatest pride in the differences among races, and talked so frequently of the Negro's distinctive contribution. He had even pleaded fervently for an African curriculum differentiated from the whites, and worked to make that a reality at Achimota. But most important of all for its influence on Jones, Aggrey had believed the race

100. In view of the extreme hostility between C.G. Woodson and Jones, it is of some significance that Aggrey was soliciting Woodson's aid for his thesis just two weeks before his death. He believed also that his active membership of Woodson's Association for the Study of Negro Life and History would be invaluable for his own work, J.E.K. Aggrey to C.G. Woodson, box 6, acc. 3579, add. 1, Woodson papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (13.7.27)

101. E.W. Smith, op.cit., pp. 276-277.

problem soluble by the initiative of enlightened individuals, and not by political combinations. He felt complete racial equality as an individual with all of his white friends, but he did not realise that the Africanisation he emphasised so keenly could only enhance his already high personal status, while it might still be dangerous for Africans in general. He then proclaimed differentiation for his people's education before it was politically safe, and in the process undervalued for others the twenty years of undifferentiated higher education that had largely given him his own equality.

After Aggrey's death, the propaganda conflict over African education continued unabated, with Jones proceeding on an opposite set of assumptions from DuBois and Leys. It was, however, becoming increasingly clear that the debate was less about education than the political futures that were open to Africans. Because of his conviction that white overrule in Africa was as irreversible as white supremacy in the Southern States, Jones believed that the most that was open to Africans was, like Aggrey, to imbibe on an individual level the Tuskegee spirit; they could then make a successful adaptation to the white status quo. DuBois and Leys, on the contrary, sought out those Africans who had formed or were part of African political associations, and encouraged them to aspire to independence. It was entirely consonant therefore with their vision of Africans for Leys to adopt and co-operate with the Secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association, Jomo Kenyatta,¹⁰² and for DuBois to be enlisted by the African

102. For evidence of the co-operation of Dr. Leys and McGregor Ross with Kenyatta, see H.D. Hooper to Miss Soles, 26 September 1929, Letterbooks of the Africa Secretary, Church Missionary Society Archives. Also N.M. Leys,
[Contd.]

Student Union as 'the most logical candidate' to help them 'to do the things that will benefit Africa in its march toward race consciousness (sic) and self determination'.¹⁰³ For Jones it was no less appropriate that he should have continued to work to create such leaders as Aggrey. Only a few Africans could of course go at this period and catch Aggrey's message from the Southern States, however; for the vast majority who did not, it was Jones' largest ambition that the Tuskegee spirit of the Southern States should come to them - as it did now to Kenya, in the form of the Jeanes School.

102 [Contd.] The Last Chance in Kenya (London, 1931), p.89. In Winifred Holtby papers, file 8, Hull Public Library, there is evidence that in spite of Norman Leys' frequent meetings with Kenyatta, he was critical of him, not solely because of Communist Party finance, but also because of his tribalism. Dr. Leys' married daughter has confirmed the frequency with which Kenyatta visited her father's house.

103. T. Dosuma-Johnson to W.E.B. DuBois, 27 January 1933, DuBois papers, Park Johnson Archives, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

It should be observed that DuBois did to some extent during the 1930s co-operate with the Phelps-Stokes Fund over the production of an Encyclopedia of the Negro. But this was in no sense co-operation with Jones, who had done his best to have the project squashed. See W.E.B. DuBois to R.R. Moton, 26 September 1933.

"... Dr. Dillard was in to see me about a month ago. He said to me confidentially that Thomas Jesse Jones had written him imploring him to keep Stokes (Anson Phelps Stokes) from going on with the Encyclopedia matter. Stokes has said nothing to me about it since he returned, and I notice that the Fund has gone into a slum inquiry.

Of course, I was quite sure the moment that I was named Editor that opposition open or covered was coming from Jones. The only thing I care about is this; Here is a project which brings together all forces interested in the Negro, and yet it is under Negro control. Now just for that reason it ought not to be allowed to die." (RRM.GC.1933.TUA) For the project see, W.E.B. DuBois, and Guy B. Johnson, Encyclopedia of the Negro (Preparatory Volume with Reference Lists and Reports) New York, 1946.

CHAPTER VI

THE JEANES SCHOOL: AN EXPERIMENT IN PHELPS-STOKESISM

.....there is the strongest probability that none of these things are represented in the school you visit. Children are not playing games or doing any of the things they would do out of school. The music you hear will not be a Native song but the parody of a familiar European hymn... None of the acute problems of village housing, sanitation, water or food preparation are present either in theory or practice. Here there is no building, making or repairing with the hands, no cultivation of the garden. Instead, the brown bodies are huddled over a chart or a book. The chorus of unintelligible sounds is the sing-song of the syllables as they follow one another in meaningless succession. You will hear reading, but it will not describe, explain or appreciate any of the hundred and one real things and actions of the village at this moment. In fact, you will wonder if the schools belong to the village world at all.¹

This impression of the Bush Schools of Kenya, described here by J.W.C. Dougall, had been held by all members of the Commission, and it was their unanimous presentation of the case for change at this level that had influenced the Kenya Government to proceed with the plans for the first Jeanes School in Africa. For the next fourteen years European staff at the Jeanes School and cadres of African teachers trained under them would attempt to remedy the village school's failings and re-order its priorities. It was hoped that the process would be the first chapter of the New Education in Africa, and would inaugurate the change in status and function of the village school; it would no longer be an alien mechanism encouraging its pupils to leave the Reserves, but could become the lever for raising the

1. J.W.C. Dougall, 'Religious Education', International Review of Missions, xv, No.4, 1926, p. 498.

whole standard of village living; so far from the village school being the entry point for westernisation, it could now perhaps become the demonstration model of an Africanised curriculum and embody some of the traditional values of African tribal life. In all this, it would be the first substantial exemplification of Phelps-Stokes educational theory, providing in adapted form to East Africa the best experience of the American South. An assessment of the Commission's effect in Kenya may therefore be most legitimately taken from the development of this training school, which Denham, the Colonial Secretary of Kenya, trusted would be 'a lasting memorial of the visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission'.²

A closer examination of why the Jeanees School should first be adopted for Kenya when the Commission had already toured West African countries and made similar recommendations,³ raises some issues that go beyond the narrowly educational. At one level the presence of Dr. Dillard, President of the Jeanees Fund, on this East African Commission might be sufficient explanation for action not having been taken on the earlier Commission. Indeed there is strong evidence that his part in urging the Jeanees system was influential in Government and missionary circles; he had underlined that the most outstanding problem in the school system was that of the little out-schools, and that change there would affect

2. E.B. Denham to T.J. Jones, 4th June 1924, file on Education-Kenya, Nyasaland etc. Edinburgh House, London. (hereinafter, Q-F).

3. T.J. Jones, Education in Africa (New York, 1922), p.54.

the large majority of the school-going population.⁴ But, as was seen in chapter four, Dr. Dillard's persuasion even when joined with Garfield Williams' and Dr. Jones' convictions that the improvement of village schools should be the first responsibility of the colonial authorities, would not have been sufficient alone to explain the immediate adoption of the Jeanes idea by the Kenya Government;⁵ admittedly it was important also that the village school level was, in the Kenya context, the only uncontroversial area of education, so that the Jeanes agreement might almost seem a compromise measure between missions' and Government disputes.⁶ But beyond all these factors, the overriding reason that progress was unusually rapid at the Government level was the belief that the Jeanes scheme would be established and supported by the aid of American finance.

It seems certain that both Jones and Dillard held out to E.B. Denham the possibility of American philanthropic aid, should a viable scheme be proposed. Within a month of the Commission leaving Kenya, Denham had worked out in considerable detail a Memorandum on the Training of Teachers for Village Schools,⁷ and had presented it to the Colonial Office Advisory Committee. The staffing of the school and

4. Notes on a conversation between Dr. Dillard and J.H. Oldham, 7th May 1924, file Kenya-Education-Jeanes School, Edinburgh House (hereinafter, file Q-G).

5. Garfield Williams, 'General Description of Educational Work in the Kenya Colony', 14.4.25. file G3/A5/0/1925, Church Missionary Society Archives, London.

6. See chapter IV, references 63-66.

7. E.B. Denham, The Training of Teachers for Village Schools (27.4.24), file Q-F, Edinburgh House.

training of the African teachers would, he explained, gain immeasurably from the secondment of an American educationist with the experience of Jeanes work, and aid would be forthcoming:

I am certain that such a scheme is assured of the support of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, and I believe that if it is put before the Commission and approved by them, the proposal would receive financial backing which, as the Advisory Board is well aware, is so very essential and necessary at the present time when the finances of the Colony do not permit of Government undertaking any scheme involving a large financial outlay.⁸

The involvement of American Funds in some such way in Kenya, if it appealed to the Education Department budget, was equally part of a much wider political strategy of J.H. Oldham, to bring international pressure to bear on the stubborn problems of white settlement. He had conceived of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's visit itself as beginning the process,⁹ and now wished that American money could continue this indirect form of control. This really amounted to creating a kind of educational mandate status for Kenya, and would, if it proved successful, provide for East Africa a parallel to the liberalising influence of Northern philanthropy in the American South:

It seems to me a matter of great importance that there should be some American financial contribution to the work in Kenya. In view of the peculiar difficulties of the situation there, I cannot help thinking that the co-operation of America might have a valuable psychological influence. It would be a reminder that

8. Ibid., p.15; cf. also, J.H. Oldham to W.C. Bottomley, 24 October, 1924, C.O. 533/327/50272, Public Record Office, London (hereinafter, P.R.O.), 'Both Jones and Williams have no doubt that the Kenya Govt. are looking for assistance from America.'

9. J.H. Oldham to R.T. Coryndon, 16 January 1924, file on Education-Tanganyika, Edinburgh House.

the education of the natives is really a world concern, and would help in this way to prevent too provincial a view being taken of questions that may arise.¹⁰

By October 1924 some modification in Denham's plans for the shape of American aid had taken place; Jones and Oldham had agreed that an American might not be the most appropriate person to start a new experiment in a British Colony, and had successfully persuaded Dougall to accept a year's training in American Jeanes work as a preparation for directing the project.¹¹ The process of internationalising the Jeanes work began with the Spelman Rockefeller Boards appropriating money for Dougall,¹² and already the possibility of several thousands of dollars a year for a five year period was being floated by Dillard to begin the improvement of 'education among the backward natives'.¹³ American money for the school finally materialised in April 1925 - \$37,500 dollars over five years - and it came quite unexpectedly from the Carnegie Corporation.¹⁴ As the grant had

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10. J.H. Oldham to J.W.C. Dougall, 2nd April 1925, file Q-C, Edinburgh House. Oldham in conversation and correspondence with his close friends put this point of view while maintaining with the Colonial Office the position that they could 'secure American dollars without American interference', minute on Oldham to Bottomley see above reference 8.
 11. Oldham to Bottomley, see reference 8. For the same reason, Jones was disqualified from becoming Secretary to the Advisory Committee, see chapter VII, reference 9.
 12. J.W.C. Dougall to Oldham, 1st March, 1925, Q-G, Edinburgh House.
 13. See reference 11.
 14. In early 1925 Oldham had been preparing the ground for Carnegie backing for the proposed International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and had received substantial assurances from the President, F.P. Keppel; the next month both Oldham and Jones were nonplussed to hear that Carnegie Corporation had made an appropriation

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in fact been arrived at through something of a muddle, it contained no suggestion that it be used for anything more specific than 'cooperation with the British Government in educational developments in Kenya Colony'.¹⁵ And Oldham immediately feared that in the absence of any limitation, it might fail completely in the larger object he intended, and simply be used by Kenya Legislative Council as an educational economy.

The issue was not in any case to arise in an acute form for some time; in the meantime, there was the much more pressing problem of staffing the institution that was to pioneer the educational revolution in Kenya. As the Jeanes School was to embody the new approach with Dr. Jones' "Simples" of Health, Agriculture, Home and Recreation, the staff must be convinced that there were preservable values in the African notions of health and agriculture which could be developed, and African patterns of home life and recreation on which the village school syllabus could build. Like the staff of Achimota being recruited under A.G. Fraser and Aggrey,¹⁶ they must combine research into African traditional methods with their Western knowledge, and consequently develop an education congruent with the African past. The principal difference between the two parallel experiments in East and

14. Contd.] for co-operation with the British Govt. in Kenyan education. In the interval Dillard had made personal representations over specific aid to Jeanes School development in Kenya, and it must be assumed that Keppel thought the two proposals in some way connected. (Oldham to Warnhuis, 26th March 1925, file on the International Institute, Edinburgh House.)

15. Keppel to T.J. Jones, 7th April 1925, file 314, formerly Edinburgh House (now the International Missionary Council Archives, Geneva).

16. Cf. E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929), pp. 236-237.

West Africa was that the Jeanes School was conditioned by the fact of white settlement, and would be exclusively concerned with the Reserves.

It was perhaps partly recognition of some similarity between the political situations in the Southern States and the African Reserves that led Dougall to consider American Negroes as the first likely candidates for his staff. And it is significant in view of the barriers against Negroes in Africa,¹⁷ that for this type of work in a semi-government institution, Oldham did not anticipate any difficulty in the plan going through as soon as Dougall was established.¹⁸ The idea caught Dr. Dillard too who agreed that 'undoubtedly the best possible thing for the plan of reaching the village schools would be to get a good colored man from the South who has been in the work';¹⁹ there were several candidates who he felt would be ideal, and he believed financial backing could be secured. And similar support for the idea of Negro workers from America was coming from some of the leading missionaries in East Africa; in the aftermath of Aggrey's extraordinarily successful tour, they were convinced that educated Africans or Negroes would have the edge on the European missionary in many situations.²⁰ As Dougall proceeded,

17. See chapter III *passim*.

18. Oldham to Dillard, 23rd February 1925, Oldham papers in possession of Kathleen Bliss.

19. Dillard to Oldham, 6 March 1925, *ibid*.

20. J.H. Oldham to T.J. Jones, 4 June 1925, file 314, IMC papers Geneva. Grace, a C.M.S. missionary in Uganda, is described as being 'very keen', if it were possible, to get the help of some American Negro; cf. also, H.M. Grace to Oldham, 8 April 1925, file on Uganda, Edinburgh House, 'The European will never entirely understand the African, and we must have a few Africans here, who may not possess Dr. A's (Aggrey's) attainments, but who will have something of his sterling character and outlook'. (Grace
[Contd.]

therefore, in the early months of 1925 to tour the Southern States, the plan for a Negro colleague took shape; the man would have to be approved by President Moton of Tuskegee, and in Kenya would take charge of about twenty village schools as itinerant teacher and supervisor. He would need naturally to be accepted by the Kenya authorities, but Dr. Dillard was ready to explain the urgency of the case to Denham as soon as a suitable candidate was found.²¹

It was not, however, an opportune moment for such a search; many of the Negro colleges had been in a state of considerable unrest over the nature of white patronage and white leadership, since the Fisk riots of February 1925,²² and it is noteworthy that it was the atmosphere amongst the students of Hampton Institute of all places that caused Dougall the most serious hesitation:

After my visit to Hampton, I am less confident about the wisdom of sending over an American Negro to help with the initial stages of the Jeanes work. One can hardly escape the feeling that the younger generation of educated negroes is restive, aggressive and less appreciative of the work of the whites even in such a school as Hampton.²³

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20. Contd.] used the term African to cover American Negro) for Grace's Follow-up to this suggestion when in the United States, see chapter VII, reference 80.
21. Dougall to Oldham, 8 February 1925, file Q-G, Edinburgh House.
22. See chapter VII, reference 29, and chapter V, references 62-68.
23. Dougall to Oldham, 1 March 1925, file Q-G, Edinburgh House; Dougall's use of the phrase 'even in such a school as Hampton' points to his having adopted Dr. Jones' classification of Negro colleges. See further chapter III, reference 90, and chapter VIII, passim. Dougall's address to the Hampton students was somewhat more optimistic over American Negroes for East Africa than his letter to Oldham:

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Further, whatever reservations Dougall might have felt over Negro staff would scarcely have been diminished by Dr. Jones, whose traditional caution over Negro missionaries collaborating with whites in Africa had been intensified by the series of set-backs his interracial philosophy had suffered during the year.²⁴ There may well have been additional factors, but at any rate the notion of using Negroes for inaugurating the Jeanes scheme in Kenya did not recur after June 1925.

The school did not formally open until October, but there was an unusually full discussion of principles and of the Jeanes philosophy both prior to opening and in the two years following; and it is worth considering some of the ideals and ambitions proposed by the individuals most concerned with shaping the school.

What was to be attempted after all was nothing less than the conversion of the educational system from the traditional Western model of elitist, academic education to one apparently more attuned to the economic and social forms of African life. There seemed the opportunity in the relative infancy of formal African education to benefit from the experiences of two separate spheres - India and the Southern States. The Colonial Secretary of Kenya and his Inspector of Education

23. Contd.]

'Further, why should Africa be indebted entirely to white leadership for education? Why should we always send out white missionaries, white officials for the schools and on the farms and everywhere? Can it be that the ten millions of colored people here and the leaders and strong youth among them have forgotten their motherland and that Africa is not to have some of you as its leaders and teachers?' (Southern Workman, liv, No.4, April 1925, p. 169).

24. See chapter V, references 62-68, for Jones' reverses over Fisk University at this time.

had had considerable experience of education in Ceylon and India respectively,²⁵ and to them no less than to the missionaries and most other educationists, Indian education provided the supreme example of what must be unlearned for Africa. Denham set out the moral in his draft plan for the Jeanes School:

We have therefore before us the lesson to be drawn from the history of education in India, where higher education and professors were superimposed instead of progress through village schools and village teachers upwards. What we wish to avoid in this Colony is a repetition of such disastrous experiments and the lesson we can learn is, in my opinion, that simplicity is the keynote of education.²⁶

Of course, India had long provided in missionary and Government circles the illustration of what not to do, but it was only comparatively recently with the growing knowledge of the achievements of the Southern States that any positive alternative could be proposed. Both Hampton and Tuskegee, Oldham believed, contained a formula for combatting the usual results of native education, 'the swelled head' and the openness to agitation, and if their principles could be firmly established in the new education of Africa, and the Jeanes School in particular, there was a chance that Africa could bypass the stage of Indian discontent.²⁷

As for the products of the training, it was hoped that there would be secured a cadre of new style African leaders, who would be highly motivated to return to the country,

25. Denham had been Director of Education in Ceylon, 1916-1920, and E.E. Biss, the inspector of education, had had long experience in the Indian educational service.

26. E.B. Denham, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

27. Oldham to Major Dutton, 8 October 1929, file Q-G, Edinburgh House; cf. further chapter VIII, reference 14.

equipped through their 'contact with realities'²⁸ to resist the temptations of urban life. The exposure to some European ways in their training at the Jeanes School would give them a fresh vision of the possibilities of renewal in their villages without separating them by too great an educational gap from these local communities. In Dougall's phrase, the teacher would be only 'a little in advance of his people'.²⁹ It is all the more interesting in view of this limitation set on their education, that Dougall could still express the hope that they might 'find a few who will become leaders, like Aggrey, among the native people'.³⁰ Nor was the first vice-principal, T.G. Benson, less ambitious for the teachers in training, who he felt, at his most idealistic, might have become the 'germ of a new nation'.³¹

It should not be suggested that the task of selecting suitable candidates was necessarily thought to be a light one. Indeed few saw more clearly than Dougall the improbability that the qualities he desired would reside in more than a handful of people. For the teacher must be young enough to be capable of radically changing his whole attitude to teaching, and intelligent enough to innovate, and adapt his new knowledge to the differing conditions of the villages and their little schools; and yet

28. Ibid.

29. J.W.C. Dougall (editor), The Village Teachers Guide: A Book of Guidance for African Teachers (1931), p.103.

30. J.W.C. Dougall, a leaflet, Jeanes School Kabete, A Guide to Intercession for Staff and Friends, Hampton Institute Archives, Hampton, Virginia.

31. T.G. Benson in an interview kindly given in September, 1966.

he must have attained a maturity that would give him the ear of the local chief and elders or the District Officer. Most exacting of all, to maintain his loyalty to the small local communities, 'he must have passed the stage when English, certificates, and clothes are the predominating factors in the choice of a career'.³² In a word, what was required for the position in the Jeanes school was Dr. Loram's "good African",³³ a figure so highly prized in the twenties and thirties, and so rarely found by those who defined him:

As far as British policy at least is concerned, the objective of education in Africa is to produce the good African - the Native who is proud to be an African, appreciative of the finer elements in his culture, willing and anxious to accept European culture in so far as it is complementary and supplementary to his own, quite unwilling to be an imitative or unoriginal white man.³⁴

The curriculum of the Jeanes School would, of course, be very largely determined by this definition of the African teacher, and the most delicate task of the European staff would then be the communication of 'an attitude of discrimination towards African and European cultures'.³⁵ They would have, in addition, to expend considerable energy and make use of anthropological knowledge in order to fulfil their aim

32. J.W.C. Dougall, 'The Training of Visiting Teachers for African Village Schools', 1927, p.3, Q-G, Edinburgh House; this is the draft of an article of this title which appeared in Southern Workman, lvii, October 1928, pp. 403-414.

33. C.T. Loram, 'Fundamental Principles of African Education', in Village Education in Africa: Report of the Inter-territorial 'Jeanes' Conference held in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, on 27th May to 6th June, 1935 (Lovedale Press, 1936), p. 9.

34. Ibid., pp. 9-10. The use of the term 'good African' by Loram qualifies what is said in chapter VIII, reference 13.

35. J.W.C. Dougall, 'School Education and Native Life', Africa, iii, No.1, 1930, p. 54.

'to adapt conventional subjects to African life and psychology'.³⁶ The African Jeanes teacher for his part would in his two year course have so to understand the relevance of African lore and custom that he could pass on to the teachers in the outschools suggestions to prevent the heedless, wholesale adoption of Western activities. He would also have to comprehend how all school subjects could be adapted and reoriented to the improvement of the various villages; arithmetic would no longer concern itself with hypothetical problems, but assist in the computation of some of the villages' vital statistics; drama might take on a propaganda content for health and agricultural betterment, and even reading and writing could be localised with the collection and reproduction of tribal song and story. It was recognised in all this that an unusual degree of resourcefulness and imagination would be demanded. For as Dr. Dillard had noted in his Kenya tour, 'the textbooks at present in use are absolutely absurd, having no sort of relation to native life';³⁷ and yet the Jeanes teacher was being commissioned to undertake that most difficult thing, remove the few, admittedly shaky western supports from beneath the outschool teacher, and substitute very largely from his own initiative a new African syllabus, and methodology. It was a tall order and had to be grasped from European staff through the medium of Swahili only.

36. Jeanes School Kabete and the Work of the Village Guide (published by the authority of the Government of Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1931), p. 11.

37. See reference 4.

Such was the general background of ideas and aspirations against which Dougall entered his first job as a junior officer of the Government. All about him the highest claims were being made for the scheme that would now be put to the test. The Colonial Secretary had announced that the Jeanes School's influence was 'essential to the promotion of the education of the African on the right lines throughout the country'.³⁸ For Dr. Jones it was the culmination of six years' continuous involvement with African education, and the entry wedge, if successful, for a larger scheme that would cover all Africa.³⁹ Oldham was not naturally given to overstatement, but there is a sense in which the launching of the Jeanes school was the fulfilment of the wish he had entertained for Africa when he had first seen Hampton in 1912. The intervening years had spanned his vital connection with the successes of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions in Africa, and his initiative in the formation of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee. The Jeanes School would now be the first-fruits:

I am of the opinion that if the proposed plans can be carried out successfully, Kenya will probably take the lead among all the British colonies in Africa in coming to grips with the real problems of the village school. The Governor said to me that he thought that the plans for the Jeanes School were in advance of anything he observed in Uganda... If we can provide Dougall with the proper staff I do not think that there will be anything so effective in this particular line in the whole of East Africa, or for that matter, in West Africa.⁴⁰

38. E.B. Denham to T.J. Jones, 4 June 1924, file Q-F, Edinburgh House.

39. T.J. Jones to Oldham, 20 May 1927, file on the Phelps-Stokes Fund (hereinafter, Q-J), Edinburgh House.

40. Oldham to Jones, 14 May 1926, file L-1, Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives, New York; cf. also Oldham to Ormsby Gore, 9 December, 1926, C.O. 533/363/xf 7877 (P.R.O.), London.

When it came to the practical embodiment of these high aims with the co-operation of the Kenya Government and settlers, the question of staffing was only one of many crucial difficulties. Nor was it the first. There was the question of whether the project would get off the ground at all in the early months, for, as Oldham had foreseen, the Kenya Education Department saw the Carnegie Grant as an occasion for educational economy rather than an inducement to innovation. Although the money had been allocated to the Jeanes School, the Director of Education was just prevented from using it to save on building costs,⁴¹ and Dougall then discovered that his budget for 1926 was to be £100, 'the other £1,500 having been marked by the words "to be recovered from Carnegie Grant"'.⁴² Indeed the financial pre-conditions for success were probably not fully realised by the Kenya authorities until Oldham had personally intervened in his visit to Kenya in March 1926; his close connection, with Governor Coryndon's successor, Edward Grigg, enabled him to explain the capital requirements of the school, and also the hard fact that it would need five or six full-time, highly qualified European staff to train only twenty-five Jeanes Teachers and their wives. But his counsel prevailed, and £8,000 was found for buildings, with the Carnegie money earmarked for salaries.⁴³

It was a very considerable illustration of the effect of Oldham's pressure that the Government was prepared to sanction

41. Dougall to Oldham, 9 December 1925, file Q-G, Edinburgh House.

42. Ibid.

43. Dougall to Oldham, 18 July 1926, Q-G, Edinburgh House.

the institution to be run on the scale that Dougall thought necessary. The effect was to make the African Jeanes teacher the single most expensive product of Kenya's educational system. Even with the Carnegie offset, the tuition costs of the Jeanes teachers per head annually were, at 2,237 shillings, more than twice as much as the most expensively educated European child in Government schools. More important from the viewpoint of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, it was more than four times as much as it cost to train an artisan in the Native Industrial Training Depot.⁴⁴ It is not for this reason entirely surprising that when Lord Delamere visited the school in 1928, he should have suggested to Dougall that his Jeanes teachers might as well be sent to Eton.⁴⁵

However with the financial problems for the moment settled, the Jeanes School now required a team of educationists with extraordinary qualifications; they must be prepared to do both research and teaching in a semi-missionary,⁴⁶ aggressively non-theoretical institution, and communicate their knowledge through Swahili. In 1926 an intensive search was mounted by Loram in South Africa, Jones in the United States, and Oldham and the Colonial Office Appointments Board in Britain to find appropriate candidates, but

44. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya Education Department Annual Report 1928 (Govt. Printer, Nairobi, 1929), Statistical Table, No.vi.

45. Dr. J.W.C. Dougall in an interview kindly given, 6th May 1966.

46. Oldham to Dougall, 25 March 1927, Q-G, Edinburgh House, mentions that Furse at the Colonial Office Appointments Board regarded 'the Jeanes School, like Achimota ... a semi-missionary kind of show'. For a Colonial Office

they made only slow progress. The case of the agriculturalist was particularly stubborn and illustrated the dilemma of the qualities Dougall required:

He must not be the type they have in the Agricultural Dept. whose attitude might be thus expressed: 'Of course the native is the worst agriculturalist in the world', nor should he be like the man they have just got out to C.S.M., Kikuyu..... who is as keen as can be on helping the native but teaches the science in absolute detachment from native method and idea ... We want something of Shantz's attitude which begins with curiosity as to the native thought of agriculture and native practice of the art, is prepared to develop some respect for it, and in any case will teach in relation to native practice and develop gradually from it.⁴⁷

But by 1929 even he had been found, and there was assembled a body of six Europeans prepared to develop knowledge from the African base.

It proved no less difficult to recruit the right type of African teacher to undergo Jeanes training. Some responsibility for this might be traced to the missions who were understandably loth to take their best teachers out of service for a two year course, especially as it meant a transfer of the Jeanes man from a teaching post to the role of a roving supervisor. But the crux of the recruitment was what Dougall had anticipated, attracting the young, intelligent

46. Contd.] view of Oldham's pull in recruitment to semi-government positions in Africa, see Sir Ralph Furze, Aucuparius: Recollections of a Recruiting Officer (London, 1962), pp. 124-125.

47. Dougall to Oldham, 23 May 1927, file Q-G, Edinburgh House. For an extended exercise in this attitude, see H.L. Shantz, 'Agriculture in East Africa', in Education in East Africa, pp. 353-401. Cromack was a white agriculturalist from Hampton Institute, see further chapter VII, text to reference 77.

and influential. The selection of the first batch of students in 1925 spotlighted the paradoxical combination of qualities they were to have; some were rejected for not being well enough educated, one for being too well educated, and the Governor let it be known that any applicants who knew any English would be ruled out.⁴⁸ It resulted with these as with many subsequent intakes that many of them were over thirty, and their elementary education required considerable repair before they could even begin to understand the new emphasis of the Jeanes work.⁴⁹

The staff soon found that the idea of switching the direction of African education was not as simple as Denham's *tabula rasa* conception had suggested. Within two years of the school's inauguration, Dougall had to admit that 'the African himself is in some respects the biggest obstacle to the giving of the best kind of education in Africa'.⁵⁰ The brighter of the students would demand to know why, if this education was as good as Dougall said it was, the white people did not practise it themselves.⁵¹ And despite the very low level of attainment in English amongst many entrants,⁵²

48. Evan Biss to Dougall, 23 July 1925, from the personal papers of Mr. T.G. Benson kindly supplied to the writer.

49. See reference 31.

50. See reference 32, p. 5.

51. J.W.C. Dougall, see reference 45 above.

52. Dougall notes in a cyclostyled letter of 11.11.25 (Benson papers) that there might be one compensation in the students not being able to speak hardly any English - that it would be more difficult to induce them to leave their vocations.

there was still strong resentment at the No-English policy of the school, and in fact many of the Africans were determined to find elsewhere what was denied them by the official policy.⁵³

Even after the school was comparatively well established, recruitment continued a problem, with students being sought out by the staff rather than applying in the normal way.⁵⁴ There might have been increased interest in entry to the School, had there not been erected a year after the beginning of the Jeanes work, the Alliance School, Kenya's first Junior secondary school, which for all its early professions of adapted education,⁵⁵ became a traditional academic school with a highly competitive entry. The two schools were situated within a few miles of each other, the one providing the path to further education and the possibility of entrance to the new Makerere College in Uganda, and the other demanding an attitude in its students that despised further certification. Alliance High School could lead to some of the best paid jobs in the African civil service, while the Jeanes school pointed the way back to the Reserves and a life of quite extraordinary difficulty where patience was

53. Professor R.A.C. Oliver, in an interview kindly given, 6th October 1966, noted, 'It was definitely not the policy in those days to teach the Africans English. My wife was by training an English scholar, and in spite of official policy she offered the Africans at the Jeanes School English instruction, but it had to be done after hours in a rather under the counter manner. It was positively frowned upon'. N.B. English did not come into general use in the Jeanes School until the late thirties.

54. Dougall, Circular Letter No.6 (8 August, 1927), Q-G, Edinburgh House; Dougall to Oldham, 26 December 1928, *ibid.*

55. See chapter VII, references 75 and 76.

more important than ambition. In these circumstances it is curious that Dougall should have thought it possible to attract the same calibre of entrant:

At present there may seem to be a competition between the High School at Kikuyu and the Jeanes School. It is true that we do not need to aim at the High School standard. At the same time, if we are to get the pupils who are most able mentally to profit by this course, we should want some to come here who otherwise might go to the Alliance school.⁵⁶

Once the African teachers and their wives had taken up residence in the Jeanes village beside the school, the question arose whether they would be intelligent enough to grasp the principle on which the school was founded - that progress for backward village communities need not be by wholesale westernisation but by the marriage of minimal western techniques with what was already of value in African customary methods. After all, Dougall believed in retrospect that the Government as a whole had not understood the Jeanes idea. He had intended to have the philosophy of Jeanes embodied in the school buildings, and teachers huts, by having the Government build improved native style houses:

We had the greatest difficulty in building a hut that was not either a brick hut, which the African had never seen before, or else leaving them where they were. These (see Plate VII) were the first huts and they were not what I wanted at all. They were just brick huts, with cement floors and corrugated roofs. The idea that I had did not get over at all.⁵⁷

56. Dougall to Jones, 2 January, 1927, file N-1, Phelps-Stokes Archives, New York. The first Alliance Student entered Makerere in 1928, see Margaret Macpherson, They Built for the Future: A Chronicle of Makerere University College 1922-1962 (Cambridge, 1964), p. 12.

57. Dr. Dougall, in a further interview kindly given, 28th Oct. 1966, see Plate VII.

PLATE VII



Government-built houses for Africans at the
Jeanes School.
(from Jeanes School Kabete, and the Work of
the Village Guide.)

Similarly Dougall felt that few of the teachers had grasped the idea that the old was better or could be bettered; they tended either to leave it as it was or do as the European did.⁵⁸

An important part of the two year residential programme was practice in experimental farming within the limitation of a half acre plot; again it was only experimental in the Jeanes sense of examining traditional African methods of agriculture for their value before encouraging modified western techniques. A.S. Walford, the European agriculturalist,⁵⁹ aimed at improving the skills and productivity of the one man plot in the Reserves, and for the purpose of his experiments had an unlettered African small-holder work a demonstration plot in the school grounds. It was his intention that the teachers would on their return to the Reserves continue to play a part-time role as demonstration agents with some of their progressive methods. Much careful work was therefore done on improving the efficiency of traditional agricultural aids, such as the grain bin or the plough, always restricting the scale of the improvement to the small-holder's budget. It is interesting to note the similarity of philosophy to that associated with Washington in the Southern States. Neither Washington nor the Jeanes School considered it their business to attempt any basic changes in land tenure or the political status of those they wished to inspire; it was their common principle to have

58. Ibid.

59. A.S. Walford, in an interview kindly given in October 1966, mentioned that one of the difficulties of recommending an improvement of the Jeanes sort was the temptation to revert to the old method.

them cast down their buckets where they were, and make what small improvements were possible.

The connection with the Southern States was far from being a nominal one; despite the absence of American Negroes, it was Dougall and Benson's aim to catch for their own students the spirit of sacrificial service which was so evident in the work of the American Jeanes teachers.⁶⁰ Consequently a great deal of both the theoretical background to community work, and the leisure activity in the Jeanes School drew its inspiration from the Washington tradition. Some of the variety of this influence is described by Benson:

Much of the pioneering of our methods was Dougall's work and he in turn had traced it from the States. Booker Washington, Armstrong and others were most certainly our heroes in the school. We were modelled on those sorts of experiments like his and the Moga community schools where there was this strong practicality. We talked a great deal about Negroes. We sang Negro spirituals in Swahili. We had those community meetings, and had a lot of singing. In our open air theatre we had much value from plays to illustrate agricultural points. While in our courses on History of Education, we would treat interesting and outstanding examples of these great Negro pioneers.⁶¹

Although only Dougall amongst the Jeanes staff had had direct knowledge of the American South, the school was kept

60. L.G.E. Jones, The Jeanes Teacher in the United States, 1908-1933 (Chapel Hill, 1937), *passim*.

61. T.G. Benson, see reference 31. In addition to this, he personally used B.T. Washington's books for his courses on History of Education. As far as direct connection between the Jeanes teachers themselves and their American Negro counterparts went, the African Jeanes men did send a list of questions about methodology to their Jeanes counterparts in the States, the majority of whom were women. See Appendix VI. There was considerable interest at the staff level in the experiments in Indian village education being carried out at Moga by W.J. McKee, described in his New Schools for Young India: A Survey of Educational, Economic and Social Conditions with special reference to more effective education (Chapel Hill, 1930).

in close touch with all the relevant literature on Negro development and education by Dr. Jones, who understandably believed the reputation of his own educational formulas to be bound up with the success of the school.⁶²

Probably, however, it was another member of the Phelps-Stokes team, Aggrey, who became best known among the students. Members of the staff gave much publicity to Aggrey's philosophy, suggesting in the process that he would have given his approval to Jeanes methods. That this could be done without distorting Aggrey's thought in any way is significant; the very ambiguities of his public expressions had made it possible to employ them in support of a Jeanes school as much as an Achimota. Consequently, Aggrey's life was serialised in the Government sponsored and published magazine of the Jeanes School, Habari,⁶³ and lessons were drawn from it to underwrite some of the less popular aspects of the curriculum:

They (American students) do many kinds of work but none can be more worthy and honest than the work that Aggrey did as printer and journalist in order to pay for his education. He was proud of the work he had done in this way and often said to his students that it had taught him as much as lessons in college. Aggrey always remained sympathetic and understanding towards those who worked with their hands and he never felt because his hands were clean and he wore a white collar that therefore he was better than a farm labourer or a mechanic. The explanation lay largely in the fact that his education had been a thorough one not only through books but through manual work of different kinds.⁶⁴

62. T.J. Jones to T.G. Benson, 10 August 1932, Southern Education Foundation Papers. The S.E.F. was the result of the 1937 merger between the Peabody, Slater and Jeanes Foundations.

63. Habari (A Newspaper for the Natives of Kenya Colony, edited by the Department of Education, editor J.W.C. Dougall), vii, February to September 1928, seven instalments on Aggrey.

64. 'Dr. Aggrey Part II', Habari, vii, March 1928, pp. 12-13. For further illustration of Aggrey and ambiguity, see chapter VIII, and text to reference 130.

Even years after Aggrey's death in 1927, his parables, and especially the famous one of the chicken and the eagle, which counselled Africans to patience and self-determination at one and the same time,⁶⁵ were frequently retold to the Jeanes teachers.

In all this stress on Negro models and heroes, the staff were interpreting in their own way the strong recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Reports to swing history teaching and social studies in Africa away from their traditional preoccupations with the great men of Europe and America to a new pride in their own Negro people.⁶⁶ This redirection was therefore in some sense parallel to the Negro History Week campaigns that Dr. DuBois and Dr. Woodson promoted in the United States, with the important difference that the Jeanes school paid most attention to Negroes with community and rural development interests. An important additional strand, however, in Dr. Jones' advocacy of this new slant to school history was his fear that much traditional history teaching was responsible for political unrest in Africa and Asia; and it was therefore entirely congruent with this belief to desire young Africans to be protected from the inference that the greatness of the western nations was 'the result of strife, rebellion, and revolution and various other forms of demands for rights'.⁶⁷ The suggested curricular reform was a further example of how a progressive educational principle could coincide with a reactionary political motive.

65. See reference 53.

66. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, pp. 18, 19.

67. Ibid., p. 18.

It had been hoped in the original discussion of objectives, that the Jeanes school might pioneer insights into African mentality and psychology, the results of which could in turn be embodied in the teaching materials of the new education. This aim, too, might well have come to very little without outside pressure, this time in the form of a visit to the Jeanes school of the President and Secretary of the Carnegie Corporation in 1927. The Corporation had decided to expend a considerable sum on native education in South or East Africa on the development of teaching materials that were adapted to the African mentality and environment, and through Oldham's persuasion were led to believe that the most auspicious point to begin the experiment was the Jeanes School.⁶⁸ What was felt necessary in such a project was not only the localising of Western textbooks according to the best principles of primary school teaching, but a more radical investigation into the facts of African mentality without which the mere localisation of the curriculum would not be sufficient. Dougall explained the need after the discussions with the Carnegie visitors:

An even more serious lack of adaptation, though one which is more difficult to distinguish is that the method by which a lesson is taught and conclusions reached, is based not on African psychology and the intimate knowledge of native custom and idea but on the pedagogical axioms of England and America. It is taken for granted that the African native thinks as we do, whereas the experience of teachers in touch with native

68. Oldham to Ormsby-Gore, 11 January 1929, file on Advisory Committee on Education in Africa (hereinafter, Q-E), Edinburgh House.

mentality points to the fact that either his premises or his modes of reasoning are different from ours.⁶⁹

Very large prospects were opening up with the decision to attach to the Jeanes School through Carnegie money a man trained in the practical applications of psychology and anthropology to the life of Bantu peoples. It could mean that the materials on native activities and folklore that the African Jeanes teachers were already collecting could be analysed and then provide the basis for truly Africanised textbooks. There might have been the possibility of the school then fulfilling the research role for which the staff had been recruited but had so far been too occupied to implement. In the event, most of these hopes were disappointed.⁷⁰ The Carnegie appointee was a psychologist, R.A.C. Oliver, who found for the first three years of his service in Kenya almost no interest or encouragement for his work from the Education Department. Nor did he become an integral part of the Jeanes team as far as collating teaching materials, but spent most of his time constructing a non-verbal group test for Africans, which never received systematic use by the Education Department.⁷¹ By something of a paradox

69. Dougall to Oldham, 29 October 1927, Q-G, Edinburgh House. For Dougall's own contribution to this Jeanes interest, see 'Characteristics of African Thought', Africa, v, No.3, 1932, pp. 249-265. While discounting the Levy-Bruhl position of a qualitative difference between European and African modes of thought, Dougall laid great stress on the environmental factors that caused emotion to interfere with logical thinking in many Africans.

70. The most solid contribution to this end was The Village Teachers Guide: A Book of Guidance for African Teachers, (1931) compiled by the members of the staff of the Jeanes School, Kabete, Kenya, edited by J.W.C. Dougall.

71. Professor R.A.C. Oliver, see reference 53.

the appointment originally intended to reveal and emphasise the differences between European and African mental processes eventually resulted in quite the contrary; for just prior to Oliver leaving the country in 1933, the famous medical controversy about the size of the Kenyan African's brain blew up, and was seized upon by settler opinion to suggest that science proved native education to be a positive danger to African sanity. Oliver was summoned to the Education Department for the first time to give his views, and was able to reassure Scott, the Director, that the connection between mental and physical attributes was extremely tenuous, and that the tests which he had been quietly carrying out with European and African children demonstrated the substantial capacity of the African to perform at the same level as the European child.⁷²

Even if the school did fall short of its aim to be the centre for the production of progressive teaching aids for African village schools, it did pioneer a pride in the African past in an era when it was generally dismissed as either unsuitable or irrelevant, and prepared its students to reintroduce the old games, folk tales and African music as a central part of early schooling. This had after all been the fourth 'Simple' of Recreation in Dr. Jones' programme

72. Ibid. The controversy arose from a Kenya Doctor, Gordon, using his own and a Dr. Vint's work on mental patients to demonstrate that they were 'in fact confronted in the East African with a brain on a lower biological level'. For correspondence with the Colonial Office Advisory Committee, and clippings of Gordon's article, 'Amentia in the East African', see box 200, Africa General, Edinburgh House; cf. also, Elspeth Huxley, White Man's Country, 1, 1870-1914 (London, 1935), p. 221.

for African schools and he had anticipated at that early date the opposition that would inevitably result from attempting to discriminate the good from the bad elements in African play.⁷³ It took courage from Dougall and Benson actually to implement these ideas, and they soon drew charges from the missionaries and Christian native pastors that they were countenancing 'evil practices',⁷⁴ or 'trifling with native custom',⁷⁵ Every medium was used, however, in the attempt to give much needed recognition to African culture; at Speech Days, songs or hymns were set to African tunes;⁷⁶ drama was similarly used in the every day life of the school:

The old customs and ways of the African tribes are continually presented. It helps the changing African to see the good things clearly while it is not difficult to see that the bad things are gently ridiculed and their evil effects brought out on the stage.⁷⁷

It must be remembered that such principles were doubly complicated to explain in the late twenties and thirties when a particular African custom, female circumcision, had tended to polarise opinion about the African past.

Of course, it is a byword in educational circles that there is little necessary correspondence between the progressive activity that teachers will assent to in training college and its embodiment in the life of the schools. It is worth

73. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, pp. 31-35. See Plate VIII, for African games at Jeanes School.

74. Julian Huxley, Africa View (London, 1931), p. 330; Huxley had been sent out to East Africa to report on certain aspects of biologically influenced curricula.

75. Dougall to Oldham, 9 March 1930, file on Kenya-Education-Education Adviser-Dougall (hereinafter Q-I), Edinburgh House.

76. See typical Speech Day programme, Appendix VII.

77. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Education Department Annual Report 1930 (Govt. printer, 1931), p. 72.

PLATE VIII



African style Tug-of-war at Jeanes School, circa 1930.
(from Jeanes School Kabete, and The Work of the Village
Guide.)

noting, however, before following the Jeanes teachers back to the Reserves, that something revolutionary had been achieved in a few years by the enthusiasm of a few Europeans. In a country where the only alternative primary teacher training was the old pupil-teacher system, the Carnegie money had achieved the germ of a new direction in a most neglected sphere. A little of this atmosphere and some of the skills intended for socialising the village schools, can be seen in the activities of the First Jeanes Refresher Course:

A small baby's cot made out of rough wood by the same teacher attracted much attention, and a talk was given on the value of this article to the mother. Other useful articles made at the school were shown, a rough blackboard, of beaver boarding, a rat-proof 'debi' with lid of wood made from a bit of a petrol box, cupboards and flyproof safes, chairs, stools, all made on the spot ...

A lesson, talks on ships and the sea by a Coast-man, was followed by two tales told by the old teachers. Then all the men took part in African games, the women mostly watching, and finally the women played a quieter game by themselves.⁷⁸

By 1934 there had passed out into the Reserves almost a hundred Jeanes teachers. Few of these could become the leaders of native opinion in anything beyond the most limited local area. Nevertheless, there were a handful of men who thoroughly understood what was required of them, and came fully to merit Dr. Loram's description of the 'good African'.

The one who came closest to being the African counterpart

78. Report of the 1st Jeanes Refresher Course, 2nd-6th April, 1928. Of this short cyclostyled report (Kenya, file x/15281/28 (No.1) P.R.O., London), Dr. Jones wrote in eulogy, 'On the basis of a very careful reading of this document, I can say with emphasis that the type of educational work reported is away the best that I have ever known', (T.J. Jones to Dougall, 6 August, 1928, file on the Jeanes School, Kabete, in Carnegie Corporation of New York.)

to Miss Virginia Randolph, the outstanding American Negro Jeanes teacher,⁷⁹ was Justin Itotia. An examination therefore of his interpretation of the Jeanes mode reveals the peculiar rewards and difficulties of the life.

There was first his home, built deliberately not on the level of his own technical competence (for he could build more elaborately) but of the villagers' capacities to imitate; it had therefore a roof of grass and walls of wattle and daub, eight feet high. He justified the height chosen to a visitor:

He agreed that ten feet might be better, 'But', he said, 'I am not merely building this house to live in. I want other people to build such houses also. It has to serve as a demonstration. Today our people live in huts with walls only four feet high. If we put them in a house with walls ten feet high, they might feel lost. But I think we can get eight feet.'⁸⁰

The interior too showed the Jeanes character of ingenuity in the use of simple materials everywhere available; all furniture had been homemade, and a ceiling had been hung by using flattened kerosene tins. There was nothing ostentatious or unjustifiably expensive, no repetition of what Booker Washington had so scorned - the large gramophone and sewing machine in Negro households that had only one fork among them.⁸¹

In Justin's office, perfection was continued; there was a file of Habari, and many notebooks filled with Kikuyu proverbs and folktales which he had collected from the

79. For Miss Randolph and missionaries from Africa, see chapter VIII, refs. 46-47.

80. 'An Experiment in African Education in Kenya: A New Idea. Justin, A Pioneer', Round Table, xx, No.79, 1930, p. 570. (The article is anonymous) See Plate IX for Improved Jeanes Housing.

81. See B.T. Washington, Up From Slavery (Nelson Edition), pp. 142-145.

PLATE IX



(Dr. Dougall
in fore-
ground)

- a) Improved Jeanes Housing, adapted to African traditions,
circa 1930.
(From Jeanes School Kabete and the Work of the Village
Guide).



- b) Beside Justin Itotia's house, circa 1930. (ibid.)

neighbourhood, and was successful in having published in Africa.⁸² Even his dress signified the same interest in preserving the best in African tradition, for he wore a little fur cap, which was the mark of an African style scout movement instituted by one of his fellow Jeanes teachers, Jeremiah Segero.⁸³ This was exactly such a custom as the training in the Jeanes School had recommended for preservation. It reintroduced into the changing conditions of African life a tribal praise title for youths, and redirected its energies to community service.

The pattern was continued outside his house. All on an imitable scale there was a lawn and a tree nursery, and a European style kitchen garden in which were included some trees and shrubs with medical qualities attested by long tribal tradition. There was the Jeanes improved grain store, and the goats and the hens had been moved out from their traditional place in the family house to a demonstration coop and goat house.⁸⁴

It has been suggested earlier that for the Jeanes teacher to find that medial position between the old and the new would be difficult, and would involve an unusual combination of patience and ingenious simplicity. In the eyes of one

82. Justin Itotia and J.W.C. Dougall, 'The Voice of Africa', Africa, 1, No.4, October 1928, pp. 486-490.

83. J.W.C. Dougall, in a circular letter of 26 December 1928, in Benson Papers, described something of this indigenisation of the Scout movement, 'The "Wagosi" (scouts) are very proud of themselves and look the part of perfection when on parade. They wear black shirts and khaki shirts with bracelets and anklets made from the skin of a small black monkey... On their heads they have a narrow band of the same skin with a small plume'.

84. See reference 80, p. 568.

visitor, however, Justin had conspicuously met the challenge, and begun the process of changing Africa from below:

I have spoken of the magnitude of Justin's achievement, and the words are not wrong. Born and bred in the squalor of Africa, he had built a home which it was a pleasure to visit, squalor had utterly disappeared and he had made no mistakes; there was nothing of Europe but what should be there, though some things were still wanting. I thought of other homes I knew, the squalid untouched villages, the improved houses of the towns where an equal if different squalor sometimes reigns, and ragged pictures paper the walls, of some houses which had been built for show and are not used, and serve no purpose, but to point to ignorance. I realised the length of the road he had travelled and the magnitude of his achievement, for not only had he remade Africa, but he had spoiled nothing as he worked.⁸⁵

The Jeanes teachers' homes and gardens were admittedly only a small part of the assignment; they could, however, help to make credible the suggestions for improvement offered by the teachers as they went about the neighbourhood attempting to galvanise four or five village communities into action. As the teachers followed no set pattern in the improvements they attempted, it is difficult to generalise beyond saying that they worked to stimulate communal concern in whatever branch of the Jeanes work suited their bent. Individual teachers would campaign for tree-planting, rat-extermination and village clean-up days.⁸⁶ But, of course, all teachers were assigned to a certain school circuit by their supervising mission, and would tour these in a regular way, trying for gradual improvement in the techniques used

85. Ibid., pp. 571-572.

86. Kenya, Education Department Annual Report 1930 (Govt. Printer 1931), pp. 88-90. It is significant how much space the Directors of Education gave to the exploits of the Jeanes School through their Reports. In 1932, for instance, the School received 47 pages of coverage, a third of the entire Report.

by the village teachers. Following their original brief, they would painstakingly show these teachers how further subjects of social significance might be introduced, and how the three R's could be reinterpreted through infusion with African material.

It had never been intended that Jeanes men and their wives should simply be concerned with school education as such, or rather, following Dr. Jones they should seek so to redefine school education that there was nothing taught in the schools which was not also relevant to the education of the whole community. The complication of such a community conscious principle in education was that it overestimated the extent to which the school could influence political and social life in the community outside, and undervalued the role of the village school as the first step in the escape from tribal conservatism. Moreover, it was then possible to view the Jeanes idea as a mechanism to prevent detribalisation, and as a curtailment of the advantages of western education for the young, in favour of slow advance by the whole community; it was just such an interpretation that the Inspector of Schools in Kenya was able to put upon the Jeanes idea:

The object of their training (the Jeanes men) is to keep the education of the rural school closely in touch with rural requirements, and to avoid giving village children an education which will divorce them from interest in village life and cause them to seek employment in the towns.⁸⁷

87. Kenya Education Department Annual Report 1926, p. 13. For a critique of these and related notions of appropriate village education, see E.B. Kalibala, chapter VIII, reference 119, below.

Whatever political construction is put on this aim of preventing the alienation of the school population from their more backward elders, it is plain that the Jeanes men and their wives, in working towards it, were playing a number of roles that have since been differentiated. In the years before Government had provided through its Agriculture and Health Departments for African demonstrators in these and related fields, the Jeanes men carried a general writ for community development and village welfare with the village school as their base. From this followed their close connections with the local chiefs and the District Officers, and their continual goading of locally formed committees to demand and work for dispensaries, schools, latrines, maternity classes and adult education.

In such diversified activity the flavour of their contribution can only be effectively caught in reading their quarterly reports to the Jeanes School with their carefully recorded statistics and village achievements.⁸⁸ There is thus in the reports of Elisha Shiverenge, a Jeanes man serving with the Friends' African Mission, no single thing that could possibly be called spectacular, unless it be his enthusiasm for working in an exceptional number of situations. Within the period of a few months he reported, amongst much else, the following: demonstrations of granaries, larders; layout of improved house; formation of progress committees; parents committees and associations of local teachers; patent rat-catching device and teams of local boys to implement

88. Examples of these early records of community work can be seen in Appendix VIII.

it; involvement of local chiefs in stone buildings for schools; revitalised Sunday School work; maternity instruction and preventative action on tapeworms; pressure on D.C. for dispensary, and latrine measurements; his own demonstration house.⁸⁹

In such reports does Dr. Jones' chapter on Educational Objectives and Adaptations in his Phelps-Stokes Reports come nearest to fulfilment in Kenya. His own plans, however, had been for a continent-wide adoption of the Jeanes system, and no sooner had the Jeanes school in Kenya found firm support than he had mapped out a scheme for 'Jeanesising' each African country. His masterplan for achieving this, 'American Cooperation for Africa', outlined for every colony a particular school or schools that could be Jeanesised.⁹⁰ South Africa could be reoriented through Dr. Loram;⁹¹ in Sierra Leone, Keigwin, the Director of Education, had long been a student of the system and had had direct experience of the American South;⁹² Zanzibar had already made an official appeal for

89. Elisha Shiverenge, Quarterly Reports, in Benson Papers. I am indebted to Mr. Opadia Kadima for his kind translation of these Reports.

90. T.J. Jones, 'American Cooperation for Africa', 19 February 1927, file A-19, Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives, New York. Selection of growth points for the Jeanes system in Africa was made increasingly easy as more African missionaries were encouraged to study the Jeanes system in America. see chapter VII, passim.

91. Loram, believing that in the appointment of Jeanes teachers lay the chief hope for the betterment of Africans in South Africa, had sent two African women to learn the techniques at first hand in the Penn School. See chapter VIII, text to reference 62.

92. See further chapter VIII, text to reference 97.

reorganisation;⁹³ N. and S. Rhodesia had two Government schools ready to be converted; three schools were likewise capable of adaptation in Nyasaland; similar assurances were applicable to Nigeria, Congo, Portuguese East Africa and Angola, and even to Abyssinia, where Jones had first hand knowledge that the prince of Abyssinia had given definite evidence of cooperation with schools of the Jeanes type. For all this, the cost he computed would be some 136,850 dollars, and he felt sure that within two years, Jeanes schools could be established in a majority of these areas.⁹⁴

Unlike most continental education schemes for Africa, it came some way towards fulfilment. For Keppel and Bertram of the Carnegie Corporation had on their visit in 1927 to the Jeanes School in Kenya been so impressed with what they thought 'without question the most important single step in the advancement of the African native',⁹⁵ that they were prepared to provide the means for the substantial implementation of Dr. Jones' hopes. And within only one year, through an appropriation of almost 100,000 dollars, the governments of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia had established no less than five Jeanes Schools; Liberia had an American Negro Jeanes Teacher by 1928, and in 1930, Portuguese East Africa introduced the Jeanes training. Lastly a further 35,000 dollars ensured that the Jeanes scheme

93. The appeal came to nothing until the Director had personally visited the States in 1934; see chapter VII, reference 35.

94. See reference 90.

95. R.M. Lester, The Corporation and the Jeanes Teacher (printed for the information of the Trustees, Carnegie Corporation, New York, May 15, 1938), p. 7.

in Zanzibar was started in 1938.⁹⁶

A little earlier in 1935, a decade of experimentation in Jeanes work had passed since the beginnings in Kenya, and it was thought appropriate to draw the strands together and review progress. There was therefore held, again under Carnegie auspices, the Interterritorial Jeanes Conference in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.⁹⁷ American and especially Phelps-Stokes interests were well represented; Dr. Loram, by now transferred to a professorship of Education in Yale, was the Chairman, the Associate Director of the General Education Board, who had been responsible for backing the first American Jeanes teachers, was Vice Chairman, and Dougall was the Adviser. As befitted one who had been involved for longer than most in Jeanes work, T.G. Benson, now Principal of the Kenya Jeanes School, took a long hard look at the need for change in the original aims.⁹⁸ The time for the omniscient Jeanes man was passing, and what had once seemed pioneering work in preventative medicine and agricultural demonstration was being supplanted by the better trained professionals of the Medical and Agriculture Departments; within the decade also teacher training had so improved that there were now some Lower Primary School Teachers whom the Jeanes men dared not attempt to supervise. Benson advised their withdrawal from what was now an over-

96. Jeanes Schools were thus in Africa confined largely to the East and Central belts; although the Corporation had appropriated \$25,000 for South Africa's development of Jeanes Schools, nothing resulted; this may well have been through the failure of Dr. Loram's two African appointees to keep their contracts in the U.S.A. See chapter VIII, refs. 63-68.

97. See reference 33.

98. T.G. Benson, 'The Community Work of the Male (Jeanes) Teacher after Training', in Report of the Interterritorial Jeanes Conference, see reference 33, pp. 55-72.

ambitious field to specialise much more intensively on communicating teaching skills, and school supervision. The Conference recommended that if the Jeanes teacher was to continue to be effective he must have received a prior certificate in a teacher training school before he was Jeanesised, and it was suggested by implication that Jeanes Schools should give a community development slant to people who were already professionals in some other line rather than make the Jeanes teachers semi-competent in a multitude of what were now separate professions.

Back in Kenya this change in emphasis was soon apparent after the Carnegie Grant ended. There was the increasing use of the school for short community courses by various groups, and a decrease in the number of pure Jeanes Teachers. Agricultural demonstrators, health workers, Lower Primary Teachers, all attended, and there was provided even for the Kikuyu Independent School teachers the opportunity for refresher courses.⁹⁹ With the inauguration of the first course for Chiefs in 1937 came the realisation that just as the Jeanes teachers could no longer span the whole range of community development, so now the staff had to be supplemented by visiting experts from the Forestry, Veterinary and Medical Departments.¹⁰⁰ It was interestingly enough from this Chiefs' course and its conspicuous success that the Jeanes School developed lineally into the present day School of Administration.

99. Kenya Education Department Annual Report 1938 (Govt. Printer, 1939), p. 76.

100. Kenya Education Department Annual Report 1937 (Govt. Printer, 1938), p. 80.

The Jeanes School had approached most nearly to Phelps-Stokes principles adapted to African education, both in its original aims and in its practical application in Kenya. The process over fifteen years tested some of Dr. Jones' educational premises, and principally the notion that change could be initiated from the bottom, or that the lowest and least considered level of the educational system could influence not only the subsequent stages, but also the total life of rural Africa. The other preconception was that the rural African was not yet irreversibly married to the traditional western curriculum, and might be persuaded to accept education reinterpreted in community development terms. But, in practice, the most influential social and educational factors worked in quite the opposite way; Makerere College and Alliance School, even at several removes, were more potent determinants of the village school syllabus; and it is not insignificant that the decade that began with the Jeanes teachers working without powers and prestige to change Reserve life from the bottom should have ended with the first Chiefs' Course.

The more general hidden premise of Dr. Jones was that, just as in the Southern States, so in Kenya the patterns of white supremacy were unalterable in the foreseeable future, and thus any recommendations must be within this framework. It followed from this that, eschewing radical political solutions of rural backwardness, Africans must work along Booker Washington lines for self-improvement, and the amelioration of the general standard of living, before

political action could be merited. In this light, for all Jones' encouragement of community action, progress was ultimately to be determined by the enthusiasm of individuals; Africa was to be changed by the idealism of voluntary service.

Yet however limited the avenue for radical reform within such terms, something positive was certainly achieved. Catching the zeal of the European idealists on the staff, the Jeanes men and women did stand courageously for the beauty and value of African arts and leisure activities, and for a brief period were the only workers in the untouched areas of community development.

CHAPTER VII

SOME NEGRO MODELS FOR AFRICAN EDUCATORS

There was a dimension to the Phelps-Stokes Fund's interest in African education that was both more ambitious and more comprehensive than the particular stimulus it gave to the foundation and curriculum of the Jeanes Schools. It was their larger hope that both Government and Mission school systems in Africa might increasingly come to be patterned on the educational ideals and the political philosophy of Hampton, Tuskegee and their kindred institutions.

The frame of reference in both the Phelps-Stokes Reports had been taken very conspicuously from the American South,¹ and there was sufficiently frequent recourse to particular educational innovations at Hampton and Tuskegee, or to the importance of Samuel Armstrong and Booker Washington, to catch the casual reader's attention. Moreover the circulation of the Reports was not left to chance; Dr. Jones, in consultation with the Phelps-Stokes European and South African representatives, J.H. Oldham and C.T. Loram, drew up a considerable list of influential missionary leaders and Colonial officials to be supplied with copies.²

In addition to this, publicity for certain types of American Negro experience had come repeatedly from three members of the Commissions on tour. For, as was pointed out in chapter IV,³ the Phelps-Stokes Commissions were not

1. T.J. Jones, Education in Africa and Education in East Africa, see Indexes under 'United States', 'Tuskegee', 'Hampton', 'Jeanes Teachers', 'Rosenwald'.

2. Lists in Box 314 (Formerly Edinburgh House, now Geneva, I.M.C. Archives).

3. See chapter IV references 17, 18, 56-59.

only commissions of inquiry but equally commissions to popularise a particular educational mode. In East Africa, Jones, Aggrey and Dillard had the same gospel to communicate, and no occasion was lost to proclaim it. Indeed, Aggrey spoke in public thirty three times in Kenya alone within three weeks,⁴ and in many of the formal and informal conferences with missionaries, Dillard and Jones had drawn attention to their specialist interests in American Negro education.⁵

But the effects both of the Reports and of the members would have inevitably faded with time, had there not immediately been mounted a campaign extending over twenty years to ensure that this did not happen. The Phelps-Stokes Fund decided on Dr. Jones' suggestion, that the only policy which could conceivably transfer the lessons of Hampton and Tuskegee on a continent-wide scale was to let the missionaries and officials from Africa see for themselves the American South.

Oldham and Loram were ready converts to this recommendation since the visits they had taken on their own initiative to Hampton a decade earlier had so profoundly influenced their own thinking.⁶ Although therefore a number of informal visits to the States had been arranged successfully after the

4. J.E.K. Aggrey to W.E. Owen, 15 April 1924, Owen Papers, Acc. 83, C.M.S. Archives, London.

5. Of particular interest here is the private journal of J.W.C. Dougall, secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Commission; see entries for 29th February, 30th February, 1924, (Edinburgh House); Hooper's comment to Oldham on the visit of the Commission is interesting: 'I must get over to America if only to listen to Dr. Dillard telling stories of the Southern negro'. (Hooper to Oldham, 2.3.24, Edinburgh House.)

6. See chapter II, references 106, 112-113.

first Commission,⁷ all three principal proponents of the visitor scheme believed it expedient that it should have the official sanction of the Colonial Office. This meant that the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education should give its backing; and it is no small measure both of Oldham's influence and of the Colonial Office's readiness to institutionalise links with American Negro educational methods that Dr. Jones was the first man seriously to be considered for the post of Secretary to the Advisory Committee.⁸ When this proved impossible, negotiations were started with Loram,⁹ and only after these had broken down, was Vischer appointed.¹⁰

It is significant that almost the first official act to be recommended to Vischer before he travelled in his new capacity with the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa was an educational tour of the Southern States.¹¹ The Advisory Committee thought it worthwhile to send their secretary to observe some American Negro schools even though the maximum time he could be there was twelve days. This

7. Notably, the Phelps-Stokes Commissioners, A.W. Wilkie, Dr. Henry Hollenbeck; also W.E. Owen, A.D. Helser, and Fred Irvine, and D.J. Oman, Director of Education for the Gold Coast.

8. J.H. Oldham to W.A. Ormsby-Gore, 8th June 1923; W.A. Ormsby-Gore, to J.H. Oldham, 9th June 1923, Edinburgh House.

9. See file on Loram, Advisory Committee file, Edinburgh House. In Jones' case the question was over the propriety of an American citizen as secretary of a British Committee; in Loram's, the difficulty was remuneration.

10. See file on Vischer, Advisory Committee papers, Edinburgh House.

11. Vischer left London, November 24th, 1923, spent 12 days in the States, six of which were spent in the train, and returned from New York on the 15th December; see further, Hanns Vischer to the under-secretary of State for the Colonies, 12 December, 1923, C.O. 554/60, Public Record Office.

very condensed visit was no doubt partly compensated for by what Oldham described as his personal 'coaching' on America,¹² and by the fact that Jones was able to accompany him for most of his travel in the South. It is worth noticing, in view of the restricted time available to Vischer, what were the schools Jones thought most truly illustrative of education relevant to Africa. Predictably, these were Tuskegee, Hampton and Penn, along with a few more rural schools in Alabama.¹³ This, it will be seen, remained the nucleus of several hundred longer tours that followed Vischer's.

This early official Colonial Office approval for acquainting educators from Africa with certain models of American Negro schooling owed much to Ormsby-Gore, the undersecretary of State for the Colonies, who wished to ensure the 'closest cooperation' between the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Advisory Committee.¹⁴ The feeling was firmly reciprocated by Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, President of the Fund:

I am glad to say that the British Colonial Office realise the importance so keenly of having African educators see Hampton, Tuskegee, the work of the Jeanes Fund Teachers, the Lincoln School and various experiments in agriculture and industrial training that they have just sent over at their expense, at Dr. Jones' suggestion, Mr. Saville,... and I think that hereafter the Government will continue to meet the expenses of

12. J.H. Oldham to T.J. Jones, 15 November 1923, Advisory Committee papers, Edinburgh House.

13. See reference 11.

14. W.A. Ormsby-Gore to J.H. Oldham, 9 June 1923, Advisory Committee papers, Edinburgh House.

men over whom the Colonial Office has control who would especially profit by American experience.¹⁵

As for educational leaders among the missionaries, the Fund would as far as possible take care of their expenses guided by Stokes' optimistic belief that 'a very small expenditure now will insure the adoption of wise policies in matters of Negro education in most of the African colonies'.¹⁶

The Phelps-Stokes Fund could not however carry the cost of transporting a large number of missionaries from all over Africa to the Southern States entirely by itself. The scale of the enterprise was therefore enlarged when the Phelps-Stokes appropriation of 2,500 dollars for 1924 was matched by the International Education Board for the following two years. To act as a clearing house for the missionary applications and also as a selection board, a committee of Jones, Oldham and Vischer was established in 1924 to administer the 500 dollar travel grants.¹⁷ A further welcome addition to the visitors' budget came in May 1926 with an extraordinary appropriation of 35,000 dollars (from the Rockefeller Board) to the Phelps-Stokes Fund for general African purposes, of which 10,000 dollars were earmarked for the visitors' programme.¹⁸ The policy continued steadily year after year,

15. Anson Phelps Stokes to Wickliffe Rose, 21 October, 1924, file A-1, P.S.F.A. (New York). This Lincoln Normal and Industrial School is not to be confused with Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, or Lincoln Academy, N. Carolina. N.B. Saviile was principal-elect of Makerere College, Uganda.

16. Ibid.

17. Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of Phelps-Stokes Trustees, November 19, 1924, file A-1, P.S.F.A.

18. Minutes of semi-annual meeting of Phelps-Stokes Trustees, 28 May 1926, File A-5, P.S.F.A.

so that by 1931, from Phelps-Stokes sources alone, there had been expended close to 38,000 dollars.¹⁹ Such a sum had exposed more than two hundred and fifty white educators to the example of Hampton and Tuskegee,²⁰ and in many colonies had effectively insured that a majority of influential opinion now had the American background as a reference.

There are several general characteristics of these comparative education tours that are important, not the least of these being the restricted type of Negro education considered worth the visitors' attention by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Here Dr. Jones does seem to have been somewhat over-anxious lest his visitors took a different view of Negro education, and indeed of the whole Negro situation in the States, than he held. Such was this fear of misunderstanding that he arranged with Loram and Oldham's co-operation some measures which he hoped would help counteract any opposing view of the Negro in the States as his guests might gain from reading the more radical white or Negro interpretations. To this end there appeared an item of 250 dollars in the Phelps-Stokes annual budget from 1926 onwards to be allocated to 'books on race problems for African visitors'.²¹

These turn out to be a very select number of works on

19. 37,726 dollars according to the twenty year report of expenditure of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, file A-5, 1933, P.S.F.A.

20. J. Merle Davis, Modern Industry and the African: An Inquiry into the effect of the Copper Mines of Central Africa upon Native Society and the work of Christian Missions made under the auspices of the Department of Social and Industrial Research of the International Missionary Council (London, 1933), p. 342; also C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa, iv, 1914-1954 (London, 1958), p. 113.

21. Annual Estimates of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

the Negro and his education which were to be presented in advance by Oldham and Loram to all sponsored African missionary and Government visitors to the U.S.A.²² An orientation guide to their American visit was thus provided in the shape of Monroe Work's The Negro Yearbook, B.T. Washington's Up From Slavery, T.J. Woofter's The Basis of Racial Adjustment, and T.J. Jones' The Four Essentials of Education. If Work's yearbook was uncontroversial and objective, the other three constituted an introduction to a somewhat onesided interpretation of Negro education and politics.²³ The same was true of the bibliographies which Jones had prepared for distribution by J.H. Oldham and C.T. Loram in the event that anyone asked for a more comprehensive list. The expanded library included Peabody's history of Hampton Institute, Education for Life, Oldham's Christianity and the Race Problem, and of the only book in it that did deal at all with the intellectual Negro, in a series of essays by Negroes edited by Dr. Alaine Locke of Howard University, under the title The New Negro. Stokes warned Oldham, 'Locke's book on the Negro is very valuable to show what the intellectual Negro is thinking about. It might, however, be misunderstood by certain people in Africa'.²⁴ These measures to form in advance attitudes to

22. Minutes of Annual Meeting of Phelps-Stokes Trustees, November 17, 1926, P.S.F.A.

23. T.J. Woofter, graduate of the University of Georgia, had been one of the two main collaborators with Dr. Jones on the survey, Negro Education: a Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States (Washington, 1917, Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1916, Nos. 38, 39).

24. Anson Phelps Stokes to J.H. Oldham, 6 December 1926, Box 315, Edinburgh House (now Geneva, I.M.C. Archives).

Tuskegee and Hampton were accompanied by favourable commentaries on the Penn School, for Loram had arranged, on the instruction of the Fund, the distribution of a hundred copies of Penn School's headmistress, Miss Cooley's, Homes of the Freed.²⁵ These were dispatched to Africa along with some articles by Loram on 'The Penn School Community work as applicable to African Conditions'.²⁶ On top of this, it was only with some difficulty that Jones was prevented from installing on each of the most popular trans-atlantic liners similar formative selections.²⁷

It might seem of little consequence that a book selection purporting to introduce the reader to American Negro life and education should pay no attention at all to the role of W.E.B. DuBois as writer and interpreter of Negro conditions in the States, for it might reasonably be assumed that the omission could be repaired adequately by the visitors while in the country. In practice, however, schedules on the Southern tours were so tight that, as in Vischer's case, visitors came away without becoming acquainted with the work of the Negro liberal arts colleges or with their leading protagonist.²⁸ Of course, it was not the purpose of the

25. See reference 22 above.

26. Ibid.

27. Anson Phelps Stokes to J.H. Oldham, 25 May 1925, Edinburgh House, (Now Geneva).

28. Dr. J.W.C. Dougall in an interview (May 1966) commented that whereas on the Phelps-Stokes Commission's African tour itself, he had heard a great deal about the Negro intellectuals and their leaders, his extended tour in the States did not introduce him to this side at all; the Negro colleges he had visited had had superficial treatment. This impression is confirmed by the visits of Miss B.D. Gibson, and Archdeacon G.W. Morrison; for a typical itinerary, see Appendix IX.

tour to give a comprehensive picture - simply to illustrate those forms of Negro education most relevant in Jones' view to Africa. But it was not perhaps to the advantage of the main body of these missionaries to be so scrupulously protected from variant interpretations of Negro educational progress.²⁹

In this respect, Jones' attitude to Negro colleges and his interest in propaganda for the Tuskegee way do seem more appropriate to the era of The Souls of Black Folk, at the turn of the century, with its violent educational and political disputes about priorities for Negro advance, than to a time when the differences were being considerably reduced. Nor was Jones without support for this outmoded view of Tuskegee as a machine to be manipulated against DuBois and his interpretations. A small group of leading English missionaries was similarly convinced that it was the job of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Tuskegee in combination, to present a constructive alternative to DuBois. And in the month after DuBois' Second Pan-African Congress, they felt this even more strongly, as an officer of the Phelps-Stokes Fund explained to Dr. Moton:

It is imperative that far more publicity be given to other sides of the questions involved. The English friends, who have been with us lately, criticise us very severely because Du Bois and his activities and his

29. There was one very practical reason for not including Fisk, Howard and Lincoln on some of the missionary itineraries between 1924 and 1926 at any rate; all three experienced severe rioting within the period, and the whole question of white leadership of Negro colleges was brought into violent relief. See further F.L. Broderick, W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis (Stanford, 1959), pp. 163-4. For the same phenomenon occurring even at Hampton Institute, see chapter VIII, ref. 138.

publications are so well known on the other side, and so little is known of the constructive literature. This whole question needs a conference. It is essential that we get out a magazine of the nature of the Crisis with a large circulation which shall be the voice of the other party.³⁰

Quite apart from this question of rival political propaganda, it is doubtful if Jones was wise to insist that educationally a line could be drawn rigidly between the efficacy and relevance of the Tuskegee-Hampton family and the aspiring, if wretchedly endowed, other Negro Colleges. Nor indeed would it necessarily have altered missionary admiration for Tuskegee, had the situation been less extremely presented.³¹ But without such concessions, DuBois was perhaps justified in calling attention to some of the factors that had altered since Washington's day. In a critique of the Fund policy - 'If I had a Million Dollars: a Review of the Phelps Stokes Fund'³² - he charged the Fund with perpetuating a myth:

We particularly dissent from the thesis which the Phelps Stokes Fund and others have repeatedly put forth: Namely, that education based on the Hampton-Tuskegee idea has been the real cause of the success of Negro education in the United States. We firmly believe that the contrary is true and that with all that Hampton and Tuskegee have done, and they have done much, nevertheless their peculiar program of industrial education has not been successful and has been given up, while the essential soundness of the Atlanta, Fisk and Howard program of general and higher education and teacher training has with all its omissions

30. I. Tourtellot to R.R. Moton, 17 October 1921, (RRM.GC. 1921. TUA).

31. Cf. an interesting comment by J.H. Oldham on his Southern tour in February 1921, to Lionel Curtis, 11 February 1921, 'This letter was begun at Tuskegee. Since coming to Nashville, I have heard a great deal more from the other side of the Negro question, which I knew existed. But this enhances rather than diminishes the greatness of Booker Washington's achievement'. box 315, Edinburgh House (Now Geneva.) (N.B. Fisk University was in Nashville).

32. W.E.B. DuBois, 'If I had a Million Dollars: A Review of the Phelps-Stokes Fund', The Crisis, xxxlx, No.11, November 1932, p. 347.

proved the salvation of the Negro race.³³

It was not thus an entirely uncontroversial itinerary that the missionaries followed, and it is for this reason all the more necessary to examine some of the more important institutions on its path, for these were in the space of a few years to become common reference points with anyone professing knowledge of African education.

The first both in importance and in length of visit were Tuskegee and Hampton, and missionaries normally stayed from four to seven days in each;³⁴ this was justified on Jones' premises, for the two institutions were centres for a great variety of those community and extension activities to which the Phelps-Stokes Reports had drawn attention. Most important also, from the point of view of showing African missionaries institutions that were not cut off from the level of the local community, both Hampton and Tuskegee were the local headquarters for the Federal Department of Agriculture's Extension Service Bureau, administered through two experienced Negro agents, and it was usually possible to demonstrate in some way the skills acquired by the pupils being carried back to the service of their homes. Most

33. Ibid. In fact, this polemical paragraph, perhaps partly because of the personal issue between T.J. Jones and himself, is not indicative of DuBois' thinking at this time. Since the slump, his visit to Russia, and the general deterioration of Negro economic status in the States, he had at times become the Negro college's most acid critic, and had given considerable attention to reviewing the old academic-vocational dispute in the light of changed conditions. See especially his justly famous Howard Commemoration Address, 'Education and Work', Journal of Negro Education, 1, 1932, pp. 60-74.

34. An invaluable source on the length of missionaries' visits to Hampton is the visitors' book which scrupulously recorded details of this sort, Hampton Institute Archives, Virginia.

visitors were very impressed in this sphere by the Booker T. Washington Movable School on Wheels, which would trundle out of Tuskegee laden with equipment to demonstrate a number of simple improvements by using the common materials of the countryside in a more ingenious way.³⁵ Use made of the central institution by the local farmers could also be readily shown. And the trade buildings and farms were equally impressive, especially for missionaries who found it hard to communicate love for either occupation in Africa; a not uncommon reaction to this came from Mrs. Grace, C.M.S. missionary from Uganda, who had long struggled against African distaste for agriculture in high school, and was thus the more delighted to find one of their own Uganda boys under Tuskegee influence:

He interested us profoundly with his enthusiasm for agriculture and his belief that it will be the saving of Uganda. ... to find a young man like Kato in this place imbued with the ideas of Tuskegee on agriculture is absolutely thrilling when one thinks of the effect on the Baganda.³⁶

There was, however, in addition to all the traditional activities, one new and to Jones not particularly welcome feature which the missionaries might observe at Hampton and Tuskegee - a college course. Such a departure in those very institutions where he had believed his principles of adaptation had been most nearly perfected caused him great

35. Cf. Report of Mr. and Mrs. G.B. Johnson on a Visit to the U.S.A. to Study the Organisation, Aims and Methods of Rural Schools, February-April 1934 (Zanzibar, 1934, Government Printer), p. 9.

36. Diary of Mrs. E.M.D. Grace's visit to Negro Schools of the U.S.A. 1925, (copy in the Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives), p.11. See further, chapter III, ref. 60.

distress; he commented irritably on a Southern Workman article justifying these changes:

The ingenuous admission that Hampton's former "adaptation to different needs has now been replaced by the usual courses given in other schools and colleges" is a most pathetic confession of ignorance both of the great modern trends of education and of the ideals for which Hampton has always stood. This ignorance is further confirmed by a succeeding sentence justifying the "adoption of more courses conforming to the standards of the modern college and so making Hampton less different from other schools".³⁷

Tuskegee as usual followed Hampton's lead in this matter, and when DuBois visited it in 1928 for the first time in quarter of a century, his visit symbolically coinciding with the recent inauguration of the four year B.S. degree course, his simple 'Fancy a college at Tuskegee' showed plainly where he considered some concession had been made from Tuskegee's earlier rigidity.³⁸

Next to Hampton and Tuskegee on the visitors' itinerary were Calhoun Coloured School and Penn School, two of the very few schools which Jones' Negro Education report had in 1917 described as 'excellent' for their community-mindedness, and adaptation to what he believed the real needs of the Negroes.³⁹ Ten years later Calhoun was much less able through its finances than Hampton, its mother school, to resist the pressures against the traditional curriculum; and at the very time that it was required to appear as the model of an adapted school for the African visitors, Jones was receiving confidential reports that 'the old clear-cut aims are no

37. T.J. Jones to Miss R. Cooley, 13 March 1929, (RRM.GC. 1928, TUA).

38. W.E.B. DuBois, article on Tuskegee, The Crisis, xxxvi, February, 1929, pp. 67-69.

39. T.J. Jones, Negro Education, Bulletin No.39, pp. 58, 483.

longer the aims'; community work, agriculture, and industries had all lapsed; but worst of all, he learnt that 'with the Academic department, we come to a happy exception. It seems to be understood that the school aims to attain as rapidly as possible to the required standards for an accredited state high school'.⁴⁰

Things were beginning to move in the same direction even in the relative isolation of Miss Cooley's Penn School on St. Helena Island, which had seemed to Loram so eminently adapted for simple imitation in Africa. Conformity to the white school system was the demand there too; and Jones could only comment in some dismay:

..... the forces controlling Negro education, notably Negro public opinion and State standardisation, are forcing the literary objectives to the neglect of the social realities required by the Negro. Even Miss Cooley and Miss House are dreading the increasing trend in this direction. I am genuinely perplexed as to the ability of a school like Calhoun to withstand this seemingly overwhelming movement. Even Alabama State aid seems to depend upon the development of high school standards at Calhoun.⁴¹

In this situation it had been an added blow the previous month to hear through J.W.C. Dougall that the Jeanes School, Kabete, which was to be the vanguard of the new adapted education in Africa had been confronted by the same demands:

.... the fact remains that the African in many cases does not want what we think is best for him. This is emphatically true of the education based on the Four Simples with which the name and work of Dr. Jesse Jones is indissolubly associated.⁴²

40. Miss M. McCulloch to T.J. Jones, 26 December 1928, file G-6, P.S.F.A.

41. T.J. Jones to McCulloch, 3 January 1929, file G-6, P.S.F.A.

42. J.W.C. Dougall, 'Training Visiting Teachers for African Village Schools', Southern Workman, lvii, No.10, October, 1928, pp. 403-414. The quotation is taken from an off-print of this original in Dr. Dougall's papers, p. 9.

Very little of these tensions of reappraisal was apparent to the visitors, however, and the Director of Education of Zanzibar and his wife were no exception even as late as their visit of 1934. They paid no attention to the addition of college grade work at Tuskegee and Hampton in their full report, noting rather that, unlike Africa, manual work was not regarded as undignified by the pupils.⁴³ And in Calhoun they could scarcely modulate their praises for the way the school environment resembled the simplicity of the children's needs, and adapted them for local requirements:

What impressed us most was the way in which the school's activities are made to serve the purpose of preparing these boys and girls for their future life on the plantations of Alabama.⁴⁴

No tour of the South was complete without study of the Jeanes system of visiting teachers, especially for missionaries from the East and Central African countries which had established Jeanes Schools. This usually involved accompanying one of these devoted Jeanes women in her brave attempts to instill into depressed Negro teachers in one-room schools, an interest in creative manual and industrial subjects beyond the three R's.⁴⁵ Occasionally the missionaries and other Phelps-Stokes visitors were fortunate enough to meet either

43. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, see reference 35.

44. Ibid., p.10.

45. For a sympathetic survey of the efforts of these Jeanes Industrial teachers, see L.G.E. Jones, The Jeanes Teacher in the United States, 1908-1933 (Chapel Hill, N. Carolina, 1937); also, Benjamin Brawley, Dr. Dillard of the Jeanes Fund (New York, 1930); for the Jeanes Teacher in retrospect, Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (N.Y., 1944), pp. 887, 1417.

Dr. Dillard or the first and most famous of the Jeanes teachers, Miss Virginia Randolph, who had with tremendous personal sacrifice of time and energy creatively interpreted Washington's motto of working without complaint for the 'inch of progress',⁴⁶ Her unremitting simple service to her people never failed to appeal, and not least to Sir Gordon Guggisberg, ex-Governor of the Gold Coast. He commented, a little inappropriately for the founder of Achimota College:

I saw Virginia Randolph today and was greatly struck by her. A fine type and much nearer my own primitive people than anyone else I met.⁴⁷

There might be time after these five institutions, briefly to visit the great co-operative college president and Christian statesman, John Hope at Atlanta University,⁴⁸ or to spend a day in Washington at the Bureau of Agriculture, where the Agricultural expert from the East Africa Phelps-Stokes Commission, Dr. Shantz, could point to a wealth of experiments in the Negro South that might well be tried in

46. Quoted in A. Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington, p. 107.

47. Gov. Guggisberg to Mrs. Gregg, 12 October 1927, Hampton Institute Archives (HIA). Guggisberg had by this time already toured the Negro Colleges of Fisk and Howard. Despite Guggisberg's pioneer work with Fraser in laying down the beginnings of university work in the Gold Coast, his biographer, R.E. Wraith, has commented interestingly: 'Even Achimota never fully satisfied him, and it was not until he visited the Negro Colleges of the Southern States of America that he felt himself among kindred spirits.' (R.E. Wraith, Guggisberg (London, 1967), p.132. Wraith uses the phrase 'Negro Colleges' rather loosely to refer principally to Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. See further F.G. Guggisberg and A.G. Fraser, The Future of the Negro (London, 1929).

48. John Hope's importance in the extremely delicate politics of the Negro college, and his role in the encouragement of African students deserves fuller treatment than is given in Ridgely Torrence's The Story of John Hope (New York, 1948).

Africa.⁴⁹ Frequently also in New York interviews were arranged with Mabel Carney of Teachers College Columbia, whose courses on Rural Education came to be regarded increasingly by the Fund as a very valuable addition for missionaries who could afford to stay longer.⁵⁰

Such was the framework of the tours, with occasional alterations made by Jones to suit individual interests; some generalisations can be made in describing their constituent parts, but not in assessing their effect upon the African visitors. These results, if such a positive term may be used in this connection, must seem untidy and disjointed, for it is the process of largely unco-ordinated groups of missionaries and officials reacting both theoretically and practically in various ways to a common stimulus. In an attempt, however, to gauge with a little more definition some of these reactions, a few of the missionaries and government educationists from East Africa, especially from Kenya, will be examined more closely.

The first British missionary society in Kenya to receive an invitation from the Fund to send one of its members to visit America was the Church Missionary Society, (C.M.S.), and the particular missionary suggested by Oldham

49. Jones was very anxious that some of Shantz's film material on Negro extension service in the South be made available to the African colonies. This notion had been anticipated in an arrangement between R.R. Moton and the native South African, Sol Plaatje, in which Plaatje was touring his area in S. Africa showing films of Tuskegee's rural activities. (Hampton Institute Archives.)

50. Mabel Carney's course on Rural Method, especially for Africa, was recommended by the Fund for missionaries and African students in the States. Some of the better known included, J.W.C. Dougall and P. Koinange; A.D. Helser and E. Ita, (see chapter VIII, ref. 107 ff.); Max Yergan and Kamba Simango.

to the Phelps-Stokes Fund as being especially influential in the development of Native education was Archdeacon Walter Owen.⁵¹ The decision was an interesting one. Owen was very far from being a non-political missionary. He had been a continual goad in the Kenya Government's side through his championing of African rights, and had in the two years previous to his visit in January 1922 been, in the company of Leys, McGregor Ross and Oldham, an important element in the nucleus of protest against African wage cuts, forced labour and the settler mentality. Oldham, however, in the face of what looked like an imminent clash between settler, missionary and African interests, had been extremely impressed in his most recent visit to the States by the success of certain initiatives taken by both Negroes and whites to lessen the tensions of America's own post-war period. There was the creation by Dr. Jones of the Inter-racial Commission,⁵² which worked from Atlanta at interpreting the races to each other and at attempting the prevention of racial violence through negotiation. And more than this, Oldham had in the Spring spent over a week at Tuskegee, where he had realised in his first close contact with Negro leaders the extent to which such a system as Washington's could bring out the latent best qualities in the Negro people:

What strikes one most in contrast with national and racial situations elsewhere is the extraordinary sanity of outlook of the Negro leaders and the absence of any kind of sourness of disposition notwithstanding the discrimination and disabilities of which they are daily reminded. They exhibit restraint and balance of

51. J.H. Oldham to W.E. Owen, 24 October 1921, Acc. 83, Church Missionary Society Archives, London.

52. See chapter II, reference 124.

judgement, a power of recognising and reckoning with facts, patience in working towards a far distant goal, concentration of their energies on constructive efforts and a cheerful optimism to which I know no parallel. This is no doubt partly due to the magnificent tradition established by Booker Washington.⁵³

Oldham may well have decided, despite the need for external pressure upon the Kenya Government in the short term, that the best interests of peace might be served in the long term by less exacerbation of settler-missionary relations, and by the presence of some really constructive attempt to work with Africans' political aspirations. Owen was for such a task the most credible choice.

Like Vischer two years later, Owen distributed most of his time between Tuskegee and Hampton, with both of which he was extremely impressed,⁵⁴ and made no contact at all with the other Negro colleges. But much was going on in his own Nyanza District of Kenya, however, while he was studying techniques of interracial co-operation and Tuskegee's self-help schemes for Negro farmers. The Young Kavirondo Association (Y.K.A.) had come strongly to public attention for the first time just two days before Christmas 1921,⁵⁵ possibly in part response to Harry Thuku's suggestion (it certainly maintained a close relationship with his East

53. J.H. Oldham to Lionel Curtis, 11 February 1921, box 315, Edinburgh House (Now Geneva).

54. W.E. Owen to R.R. Moton, 4 February 1922, (RRM.GC.1921. TUA). Owen greatly admired the 'wonders of Tuskegee' which he hoped they would be able in time to emulate in Africa.

55. J.M. Lonsdale, 'Archdeacon Owen and the Kavirondo Tax-payers Welfare Association', paper read at East African Institute of Social Research Conference, held at Kivukoni College, Dar es Salaam, Jan 1963, p.1; cf. also H. Thuku to Matthew Njeroge, 23 December 1921, enclosed in Bowring to Churchill, 25 January 1922, C.O. 533/275, c.o. 10273, Public Record Office.

African Association);⁵⁶ then a mass protest meeting of 4,000 was sponsored by the Association on February 7th, and in July the Governor, Sir Edward Northey, judged a personal meeting necessary.⁵⁷ After Thuku's arrest in March 1922, something of the growing confidence of the Young Kavirondo Association had been lost, but it still said a great deal for Owen's sensitivity to popular grievance, and perhaps also for his recent interracial experiences in the U.S.A., that he was able on his return in November 1922 to transform this body from an engine of protest to a vehicle of constructive native welfare. This achievement was noted by the Director of Education in an annual report:

The Kavirondo Welfare Association is a remarkable organisation... It came into being at the time of the Native political unrest in 1921-22. Archdeacon Owen upon his return from leave in 1922 took control of it, and diverted political agitation toward social development, with the result that the very Africans who in earlier years sought to drive him from Kavirondo now make him their refuge in trouble and the repository of their aspirations. Politics are now but little heard.⁵⁸

The Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (K.T.W.A.), to give it its full name, was certainly a remarkable example of that type of co-operation to gain which the Phelps-Stokes Commission devoted much of its time in Kenya. Owen was President, D.C.s and Chiefs held honorary positions and serious attempts were made to prevent cleavage between the traditional religions and Christianity. Its ideology,

56. See chapter III, reference 34.

57. J.M. Lonsdale, op.cit., pp. 1-2; cf. for the whole episode, Oginga Odinga, Not yet Uhuru (London, 1967), pp. 24-29.

58. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, p. 124.

enshrined in the Code of Honour sworn to by every member, was exactly Booker Washington's self-help ideal, adapted to African conditions. This code of moral and economic self-improvement deserves for this reason full quotation:

I promise to keep the laws of the Association; to plant 200 trees and to replace those that die; to build proper latrines and to prevent flies from breeding in them; to kill off rats as far as possible and to report any rats found dead; not to foul the water in rivers, springs or wells; not to aid or abet the marriage of girls under 16 years of age; not to mix cow's urine with milk; to supply beds for my household, and to supply bedclothes; to clothe myself properly and to keep my clothes clean; I promise not to get drunk.⁵⁹

That this parallel with his experience in the American South was not mere coincidence was made clear in a series of articles by Owen in the East African Standard, the most important of which judged the missionary, government and settler record in relation to Native education policy by Washington's criteria. All these three immigrant communities, charged Owen, had interpreted native education to fit in with their own needs, whether for literate evangelists, clerks or intelligent, semi-skilled labourers. Such policies were radical misinterpretations of Washington's famous dictum, 'We shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life'.⁶⁰ What the immigrants too infrequently realised was that the primary place where labour must be

59. Ibid., p. 125. See further George Bennett, 'The Development of Political Organisations in Kenya', Political Studies (Oxford), v, p. 120.

60. W.E. Owen, 'Native Policy. Education. Its Objects and Methods. Where Missions and Settlers have Erred. An American Model'. East African Standard (weekly edition, Nairobi), No.1062, July 8th, 1922, p.11; see further, W.E. Owen, 'Native Policy. Essays towards a clear and Moral Code. The Noahite Policy and the New World', East African Standard (wkly.), No.1053, May 6th, 1922.

dignified and skills applied was in the development of the Reserves; and it was to exactly that task that the K.T.W.A. addressed itself. In reaching this conclusion that for African fulfilment the common occupations of life must be enhanced in the Reserves, Owen showed little sympathy for Washington's opponents, 'who thought that the way to prosperity lay through higher education and a free use of the vote' and who 'embarked on a political campaign marked with much bitterness'.⁶¹ From this it becomes clear that in Owen's mind a parallel had been developed between the DuBois school of Negroes in America and the detribalised Africans in Kenya. This connection was made strikingly when he described the characteristics of the detribalised Africans:

They become Ethiopians and Pan-Africans and cast their vision to the utmost bounds of racial questions, instead of trying to make their own tribe worthy of the respect which must be earned before it can be accorded it.⁶²

There was, therefore, a sense in which the K.T.W.A. functioned as a mechanism against detribalisation, and in this respect approximated in its intentions to one of the aims of the Jeanes School.

The point, however, that must be made sharply about the K.T.W.A. is not that Owen did not continue to champion African rights through it, but that it was an interracial, white-led organisation, while the Y.K.A. had been an independent political movement. His American experience had thus

61. W.E. Owen, 'Native Policy. Education.' as above, reference 60.

62. W.E. Owen, 'Native Policy. The Problem of the Detribalised Native. How not to make matters worse', East African Standard (wkly.) Saturday, May 27, 1922, p.6.

convinced Owen that advance on 'Welfare lines'⁶³ must be the priority for African development, and that politics were the consequence rather than the cause of such advance. He invoked Tuskegee for emphasis:

Booker T. Washington insisted most strongly that the uplift of the American Negro depended first and foremost on the Negro developing all his powers of hand and skilful work to the uttermost. I myself stand for the spiritual, social and political advance of the Native tribes. I put political last with intent, for the history of our own Empire teaches us that the masses have advanced to political power on the record of and by the merits of intellectual and social advance.⁶⁴

A further direct result of Owen's exposure to the States was his floating the possibility of a Kenyan African of Washington's qualities. This was soon to become a common theme amongst missionaries - an interesting conception of a figure who would be non-revolutionary, and incorporate in his person such talents for interpreting white and black to each other that radical changes in the political structure need not occur. It is not for this reason coincidental that this near mythical figure should be projected shortly after the massive civil disorder over Thuku in 1922:

We need an African Booker T. Washington, one who will bring all available forces into cooperation towards the great end. Until such a man arises (and even more so afterwards) you will be well advised to gather to yourselves all who are friendly disposed towards your high ideals, and we also (I speak as a European) will be well advised to take advantage of every opportunity you give us of working together with you for the true advancement of this land. May I suggest the formation of an organisation such as Washington and his successor Dr. Moton ... found most helpful. It is called Racial Cooperation ...⁶⁵

63. W.E. Owen, letter in the East African Standard, 23.6.23, on the occasion of the Kikuyu Association protest to the K.T.W.A. over the appointment of Dr. Arthur to represent African interests.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

After the Phelps-Stokes visit to Kenya of the next year, and the impact of Aggrey, this notion of an African Booker Washington became even more current, and not only amongst missionaries;⁶⁶ that the Governor of Kenya himself saw Aggrey as fulfilling the qualifications was evident from his admitting to Jones that 'he would prefer to have Dr. Aggrey connected with the Kenya Government than a regiment of British soldiers, because his constructive statesmanship in explaining Europeans to natives and natives to Europeans, would be more potent than any military force'.⁶⁷

Such a role of mediator between the races Aggrey was prepared to play, and did so in a small way in regard to the K.T.W.A., even in the short time he was in Kenya. He recognised in Owen's work for the Association those principles he himself lived by, and praised him in terms that whites frequently applied to Aggrey himself:

I have talked about you as being an ideal Britisher in affording safety valve to the engine of native discontentment. If every district could have an Owen there would be the absence of subterranean meetings and a deep rumbling that may prophesy a coming earthquake.⁶⁸

But more than this, in reporting back to the Colonial Secretary, E.B. Denham, after addressing the K.T.W.A., Aggrey was prepared to provide, with Owen's help, the names of

66. See Bishop of Mombasa to the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 16 June 1924, file A-5, P.S.F.A., where he comments, 'I believe these talks of his (Aggrey) with their strong Christian background should be a very great help to many half-educated men who are getting their heads turned and in many cases are being made catspaws of by interested agitators'.

67. T.J. Jones, 'Solving the Race Problem in Africa', broadcast talk on BBC, 19 July 1931, copy of talk in the file A-19, P.S.F.A. N.B. Aggrey was commonly given the courtesy of the 'Dr.', even though he never completed his Ph.D.

68. J.E.K. Aggrey to W.E. Owen, 15 April 1924, Acc. 83, Owen Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London.

reliable, constructive Africans who could be consulted by government when necessary. They must be scrupulously chosen, for, wrote Aggrey with some importance, 'we cannot afford to make mistakes... This is our chance. We must not fail'.⁶⁹

It is not surprising that Dr. Jones too saw the great co-operative possibilities in Owen's organisation, but he was prepared to do more than recommend its example when writing the East Africa Report; he believed that some direct financial encouragement should be given Owen for his 'constructive efforts to improve race relations in Kenya', and had the Fund vote him 150 dollars in 1925 and a further 100 in the following year.⁷⁰ Although naturally these were token amounts they did mean that the Phelps-Stokes Fund maintained contact with Owen in a direct way until the end of 1927.

The first of the missions to follow the C.M.S.' lead was the Church of Scotland Mission (C.S.M.), and although the result of their contacts with the Southern States is not so easily demonstrable as in Owen's case with the K.T.W.A., certain significant points do emerge from the tours of at least three of her most influential leaders, Dr. J.W. Arthur, Dr. J.R.A. Philp and G.A. Grieve. The Church of Scotland mission stations had received excellent testimonials from the Phelps-Stokes visitors in 1924,⁷¹ and much now that these

69. Ibid.

70. Annual Trustees Meeting of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Nov. 18, 1925, File A-5, P.S.F.A.

71. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, pp. 125-128.

men would learn in America was confirmation or slight realignment of educational policies for which they had for some time stood.

The first of the Scots to tour the South were Mr. and Mrs. G.A. Grieve in April 1925, and during their time there, particularly at Tuskegee, they believed they had learnt much that would be most useful on their return.⁷² What was not known at that time was that Grieve within the year would be the principal of Kenya's first Junior Secondary School, the Alliance High School, and in a position greatly to influence the character and curriculum of this level of education. While no direct causal relationship is suggested, the American perspective was one of the formative influences that placed Agriculture and Bantu Studies on the syllabus as two of the four required subjects.⁷³ Although of course by this time some of the ideas of progressive African-adapted curricula had achieved a currency that they did not have when the Phelps-Stokes Commission first toured West Africa, it is interesting to note how consonant with these were the stated aims of the school. The influence of Bantu Studies was hoped to offset the effects of using English as a teaching medium, and to encourage unity with the local community:

There is no desire to divorce the interests of the students from their own native life and customs. No European education would be considered complete without knowledge of the development of the civilisation and

72. G.A. Grieve to R.R. Moton, 2 May 1925, (RRM.GC.1925.TUA).

73. The Alliance High School Kikuyu (prospectus 1928-9), p. 15; cf. also Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1928 (Govt. Printer, 1929), p. 33.

culture on which it is based. So it ought to be with the African. Bantu Studies therefore occupy a due place in the school and as staff increases it is hoped to make some definite advance along the lines of African culture.⁷⁴

To both Dougall's and Jones' disappointment, however, this initial correspondence with the ideals of the Jeanes School was shortlived; for all the attempt to maintain a strong place for the vocations and community centredness, Alliance High School's situation at the apex of the junior secondary pyramid in Kenya encouraged a competitive academic atmosphere. By Dougall's criteria at least this made the school 'increasingly artificial. The pupils are divorced from home interests and home conditions. The knowledge is imparted through a foreign medium. Theory predominates even in agriculture. The course on Bantu Studies is just another class-lesson.'⁷⁵ By 1934, agriculture, or working in garden plots, remained a compulsory subject, but was, as in some American colleges, more useful in providing a source of fees for the poorer students than in preventing the school becoming in the pupils' eyes a two year 'stepping-stone between their primary school and Makerere College'.⁷⁶

Dr. Horace Philp of the Scots Mission at Tumu Tumu was the next to take up Dr. Jones' invitation. Since it was by 1925 common knowledge in Kenya mission circles that Owen had been much helped by his visit, a certain amount of inter-mission rivalry now operated. Philp was then able to put the

74. The Alliance High School Kikuyu, p. 7, in G.A. Grieve papers, Edinburgh University.

75. J.W.C. Dougall to J.H. Oldham, 24 May 1931, file Education Adviser, Edinburgh House. Also, Oginga Odinga, op.cit., p. 36.

76. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya Education Department Annual Report 1937 (Govt. printer 1938), p. 72.

case to his Mission Board in these terms:

As the American institutions at Tuskegee(sic) and Hampton are supposed to be the last word on how Negro education should be run it would be of considerable advantage to me personally to see these institutions with the view of seeing how we can improve our methods here I consider our work here as important as his (Owen's) in Kavirondo.⁷⁷

November therefore found Dr. and Mrs. Philp at Hampton, where, in addition to enlarging their own experience, they were instrumental in forging a direct link between the American Negro patterns and their own mission; they successfully suggested that E.A. Cromack,⁷⁸ a white agriculturalist of two years' experience in Hampton Institute, might take up similar work in the Scottish Kikuyu Mission, as this was a subject now being given much prominence.⁷⁹

Here it is again worth noting how widespread the notion had become as a result of the Phelps-Stokes Reports that an American trained in the Hampton tradition would best introduce the new farming to African pupils; only the month before the Philps were at Hampton, a Ugandan contingent of C.M.S. missionaries had been there, and their joint memorandum to the Phelps-Stokes Fund showed how Cromack might have just as easily been recruited for Uganda:

It is impossible to overestimate the gain that would come to Uganda from the visit for two years or more of one of the experienced men of the Hampton staff. We find ourselves constantly saying: 'If only we could get

77. Philp, H.R.A. to W.M. McLachlan, 26 July 1924, MS. 7608, Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Papers, National Library of Scotland.

78. Kikuyu News, XCV, p. 16; and J.E. Gregg to McLachlan, 20 January 1926, Gregg Papers, H.I.A. For Cromack illustration, see Plate X.

79. Organisation of Agricultural Education for Africans: Report of Committee, 22.11.28 (stencilled copy in Edinburgh House); Memorandum of the Director of Education: Agricultural Education, Edinburgh House.

PLATE X



Earl A. Cromack, Agriculturist at the Scottish Mission, Kikuyu, Kenya Colony, East Africa.

E.A. Cromack, Hampton Agriculturalist for
Kenya, 1926.
(Hampton Institute Archives)

some of these people over to Uganda to help us with the problems that we are up against.' Not only would such a man bring the experience gained in years of education of negroes on the soundest lines, but he would also bring that intangible and priceless thing -- the Hampton spirit.⁸⁰

Although these Uganda missionaries were anxious to have a Hampton Negro graduate as well as white instructors, the difficulties that stood in the way of recruiting Negro missionaries have been amply shown elsewhere.

Dr. Arthur's visit of 1927, by chance raised this same issue of a role for the American Negro college graduate in the Kenya mission field; for it just happened that Arthur was at Hampton at the same time as Max Yergan, with whom it is almost certain that he worked in co-operation exactly a decade before in the Carrier Corps.⁸¹ And together one Sunday evening, presumably both aware of the almost unsurpassable barriers, they pleaded with the students in chapel to go to East Africa. 'Go out to that country', Dr. Arthur repeated the message at Tuskegee the next week, 'Be like Max Yergan; God wants you to take up that cross and follow him.'⁸² E.A. Cromack certainly went and stayed for a tour in Kikuyu until 1930; but how much his Negro counterparts were seriously sought out by missionaries who believed, as did Arthur, so strongly in the civilising and educating

80. Memorandum of H. Mathers, H.M. Grace, H.F. Wright presented to the Phelps-Stokes Fund after their Southern tour, 23 October 1925, file B-3, P.S.F.A.

81. See chapter III, references 11 and 16.

82. J.W. Arthur, Chapel Address of 17 April 1927, stencilled copy in Tuskegee Archives.

mission of European agriculturalists and commercial men in Kenya must remain in some considerable doubt.⁸³

Visiting the Negro schools was not a policy that Dr. Jones proposed to the missionaries from Europe solely, for as a glance at the American-led African Inland Mission and the Friends' Africa Mission shows, the leading missionaries of both denominations gave considerable attention to what could be adopted from Hampton and Tuskegee.

As early as 1922, and possibly connected with the publication of the West Africa Phelps-Stokes Report, Dr. Virginia Blakeslee of the African Inland Mission (A.I.M.) was in correspondence from Kenya with Dr. Moton, taking advice from him on the best methods of teaching the various industries for a projected Native girls school.⁸⁴ The scheme lapsed, however, until the Phelps-Stokes Commission toured Kenya, and with their new stimulus, Dr. Blakeslee personally visited Hampton and Tuskegee, and their daughter schools in 1925. Not content with the short term tour of so many missionaries, she spent the next two years 'studying the various schools of America's Southland to help in forming a sound policy for our school'.⁸⁵

The outcome in 1927 was a new type of girls' training programme designed to minimise the usual rift between school and community, by holding only the morning instruction on the three R's in the Station school, while all the classes adapted to the home, the health and the industries of the

83. J.W. Arthur, 'The Kenya Colony and Protectorate', The East and the West, xxi, July, 1923, p. 240.

84. H.V. Blakeslee to R.R. Moton, 6 April 1922, (RRM.GC.1922.TUA).

85. H.V. Blakeslee, Beyond the Kikuyu Curtain, (Moody Press, Chicago, 1956), p. 165.

local neighbourhood took place in the villages themselves.⁸⁶ Some of these initiatives were far from popular; and although there is no opportunity here to extricate the numerous factors, apart from the circumcision issue, that led to hostility between the staff and students of the A.I.M. schools which developed over the next few years, perhaps one strand in the mission's conspicuous lack of sympathy toward student demands for a higher level of education was their conviction that the best model for Kenya development lay in the utter simplicity of Miss Cooley's little Penn School on St. Helena Island.⁸⁷

The last mission to be examined for its post-Phelps-Stokes contacts with Hampton and Tuskegee is the Friends' Africa Mission (F.A.M.), which, more than any other, accepted thoroughly Dr. Jones' belief that exposure to Negro schools in America was a precondition for success in Africa. This was no sudden conversion, for there had been a long history in the F.A.M. of affinity with Tuskegee's industrial methods; one of their pioneer missionaries, Willis Hotchkiss, had in 1910 approached Washington for permission to visit and study Tuskegee,⁸⁸ and four years earlier than that had written for Hampton's Southern Workman on Kenya.⁸⁹ When another of the older school of American Quaker missionaries, Jefferson Ford, on his own initiative visited Hampton in 1921,

86. Ibid., p. 167.

87. Inland Africa (Brooklyn), ix, May 1925, p. 10.

88. Booker T. Washington to Willis Hotchkiss, 7 February 1910, box 406, Washington papers, Library of Congress (Washington D.C.).

89. Willis R. Hotchkiss, 'A Glimpse into Central Africa', Southern Workman, xxxiv, No. 9, Sept. 1905, p. 493.

he had immediate reassurance from his Board that this was in accord with their policy:

We have long felt that it would be well if some of our missionaries to the African field could spend several months at Hampton carefully studying their method and plan of work. Our program on the African field must be carried out along similar lines to those which are being pursued by negro educators in the South.⁹⁰

In Ford's case, as so often happened at Hampton and Tuskegee in the twenties and thirties, visitors from East, South and West Africa coincided, and there was thus provided in these centres an opportunity for cross-fertilisation of educational ideas from all over the continent. Within ten days in October 1921, for instance, this informal process of exchange comprised the Wilkies from the First Phelps-Stokes Commission, the Director of Education from the Gold Coast, Miss Gollock of Edinburgh House, J.E.K. Aggrey, Hunter from Lovedale, and Jefferson Ford.⁹¹ It was not surprising, therefore, after his meeting some of these Hampton enthusiasts, that Ford came away the more convinced that Hampton could prove the model for the successful combination of the academic, trade and agricultural branches in the one school.⁹² And later in the next year, he too took advantage of the pages of the Southern Workman to differentiate the Hampton-based policy of the Friends' Mission from some of the other more academic missions in Kenya.⁹³

90. W. Beede to J.W. Ford, 26 October 1921, Ford file, Friends' Africa Mission Archives, Richmond, Indiana. (hereinafter F.A.M.A.).

91. See reference 34.

92. Ford to Beede, 12 October 1921, F.A.M.A.

93. J.W. Ford, 'Industrial Work in African Missions', Southern Workman, 11, No.3, March 1922, pp. 121-125.

After the Phelps-Stokes Commission had visited the Quaker Mission in Kenya, Dr. Jones had been so impressed by the equipment and the opportunity these rural-minded Mid-Westerners had of creating a 'second Tuskegee' in Africa,⁹⁴ that he sent to the General Secretary of the Friends' Board in Richmond, Indiana a much more detailed set of recommendations for improvements than had been afforded in the confines of the East Africa Report;⁹⁵ specialists in Education and Agriculture must be the priority, and both must have the Hampton-Tuskegee perspective to be of optimum value. With these suggestions, Jones began a period of being an informal educational advisor to the Friends; he was asked to the General Meeting in Indiana in 1925, suggested particular Negro colleges for missionary visitation, and sent to East Africa a copy of the East Africa Report for each of the Mission families.⁹⁶

Negro orientation tours for five more Friends spanned the next four years, and one of them highlighted a factor in the visit to Tuskegee that was usually too obvious to receive comment - the fact that Tuskegee was operated entirely by the Negro himself; Mrs. Alta Hoyt's recording of this simple fact is a reminder of just how novel such an experience of an all-Negro institution was for many of the Kenya missionaries:

94. F.N. Hoyt to R.R. Moton, undated, but shortly after July 21st 1925, (RRM.GC.1925.TUA).

95. T.J. Jones to Beede, 6 May 1925, and 3 June 1925, file D-32, P.S.F.A.

96. Beede to T.J. Jones, 22 July 1925, and further correspondence in this file.

In comparing Hampton and Tuskegee, one is just about as good as the other so far as good solid work is concerned, but it has been very interesting to me to see both schools because Tuskegee is operated entirely by the Negro himself while Hampton is run with the management mostly in the hands of the whites..... It is most interesting to see how capable the Negro is in the management here.⁹⁷

The inferences for African capacity that might follow from this passage she did not elaborate, but the incident is important for demonstrating how, beyond curricular improvements, there were distinct possibilities for Tuskegee to act as a liberalising agent.

The educational specialist whom Dr. Jones had recommended as indispensable to the Friends' Mission was Everett Kellum; his training reflected the new philosophy of missionary preparation as the Mission Board fell in with Dr. Jones' preferences:

As to the plans for Mr. Kellum, I would suggest that he endeavor to spend some time at the Tuskegee and Hampton summer schools.... I believe that Dr. Moton and Dr. Gregg of Hampton would be willing for an extended visit which would enable him to catch the spirit of the two schools. I doubt whether a visit to Columbia would be of much value unless he could arrange to take the full summer course with Miss Carney. However I think that the Tuskegee-Hampton experience would be more valuable than the summer school at Columbia.⁹⁸

Eventually Kellum was able to spend a full week at Hampton and two and a half weeks at Tuskegee, following this with an observatory tour with the Southern Jeanes teachers and some excursions with the Movable School.

No less rigorous was the preparation of the Friends' female

97. Alta Hoyt to Beede, 29 January 1926, Hoyt file, F.A.M.A.

98. T.J. Jones to Beede, 27 February 1928, D-32, P.S.F.A.

missionaries; Miss Parker took a similar tour the year after Kellum. But it was Elizabeth Haviland whose training period came nearest to what might be considered a paradigm of apprenticeship for the African field; two years were spent teaching at Calhoun Coloured School, a rural preparation course was taken at Cornell University, and she sailed for Kenya via the Le Zoute Christian Mission in Africa Conference.⁹⁹

By 1929 all these missionaries who had received the opportunity to visit the South had returned to Kenya. The Friends' Africa Mission proceeded, however, to enter a period of some considerable difficulty from 1929 through 1934, and not a little of the discontent from the Africans centred round the sense in which the Mission was industrial.

Yet it was the industrial side that had won original Phelps-Stokes approval. When Dr. Jones had visited the Mission's Kenya headquarters in 1924, one feature which earned his strong commendation was the manner in which the Friends had through the skilful exploitation of the natural resources of timber and water on the mission estates won a measure of settler esteem. One of the missionaries was mentioned in the Phelps-Stokes Report for having 'won the position of consultant for neighboring European settlers, thus affording an admirable example of cooperation between Missionaries and the settler community'.¹⁰⁰ It is particularly significant in the light of the later reaction that the Mission received further praise for the way it taught

99. E. Haviland file, F.A.M.A.; E.W. Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa (London 1926), p. 180.

100. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, p. 130.

'the Native how to take advantage of the waterfalls for milling purposes';¹⁰¹ the presence in Kaimosi mission of 'water-power machinery for sawing and grinding, and extensive acreage of land'¹⁰² were seen as additional reasons why that station could be converted into a thriving central station. These activities were the result of the Quaker ethos which stressed the autonomous, self-supporting mission, and particularly in that period before the Quakers could see fit to receive Grants-in-Aid, the industrial enterprises were as much to supplement mission income as for training African artisans. It was this pioneering spirit, analogous to the way that Booker Washington had first made good with the Southern white community by making competitively priced bricks and wagons,¹⁰³ which convinced Dr. Jones that the Quakers now had the chance to fashion a second Tuskegee.¹⁰⁴

The architect of this industrial programme and its leading exponent in the F.A.M. was Fred Hoyt. After a battle for recognition of his industrial methods, he had with Phelps-Stokes encouragement been able to demonstrate to the Education Department in 1924 that the 'Government method of training apprentices in manual labour to do little fiddling things like make picture frames, cigarette trays etc.' was 'impractical for this pioneer country'.¹⁰⁵ He had taken

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., p. 131.

103. B.T. Washington, Up From Slavery, ('Nelson', Edinburgh), pp. 189-191.

104. See reference 94.

105. Hoyt to Beede, 25 June 1924, Hoyt file, F.A.M.A.; cf. also, Levinus K. Painter, The Hill of Vision: The Story of the Quaker Movement in East Africa, 1902-1965 (Nairobi, 1966), pp. 91-93.

advantage of his leave in 1926 to make study tours of Tuskegee and Hampton, and, like Ford, found confirmation that his work was on the right lines. It is the more interesting in view of this to note that in the 1929 explosion of discontent in the Normal Training School, when thirty two students were suspended for refusing the loyalty oath, their first grievance was not against technical education per se, but rather against their participation in the mission's commercial enterprises; what they demanded were skills like typing and telegraphy, directly useful for their own futures.¹⁰⁶

Much deeper implications of the Friends' industrial philosophy were to be exposed in 1934, when an African Friend, Andrey Jumba, Secretary of the Kavirondo Central Association,* bypassed the local mission council and lodged a formal protest with the Friends' Board in Indiana. Exactly how Mr. Hoyt had become the centre of this storm and the chief object of the Africans' discontent was explained to the Board later by Dr. A.A. Bond of the mission's medical staff:

There is a feeling that the land which the Mission holds here is not being used altogether for the direct benefit of the native Africans..... I believe that no other single act for which our mission has been responsible ever lost us so much prestige as this one did.. That brings to mind a criticism that has been made against the Mission for indulging in commercial enterprises in the country...(it) constitutes unfair competition inasmuch as missions are subsidised to some extent by outside funds. Mr. Hoyt has sawn a great deal of lumber which is piled at the Mill, and he grinds much meal for mining companies. The natives feel that it is a money-making enterprise from which they profit little. Personally I believe that the operations in connection with our Mill have for years

106. Kellum to Friends' Board, 10 October 1929, Kellum file, F.A.M.A.

* More strictly the North Kavirondo Central Association.

done far more harm to the missionary cause than good.¹⁰⁷

The clash that arose out of this issue, even if it did accentuate the division between the conservative and liberal elements in the mission, had the overall effect, as Dr. Bond saw, of making the Africans 'group all white people together in their thinking'.¹⁰⁸ Certainly the mission's conspicuous links with the mining companies and other settlers gave some renewed justification for this attitude to missions which Thuku had popularised twelve years before.¹⁰⁹ It showed in addition some considerable obstacles in the way of this particular interpretation of Tuskegee's industrial principles, and the need for the highest caution in developing a co-operation with the settler community that did not compromise the mission's educational and spiritual goals.

The C.S.M., the C.M.S., the A.I.M. and the Friends were all thus in a variety of different ways affected by the relevance of much that was being done in the Negro schools of the Southern States; but Dr. Jones was anxious that government officials, too, gain this perspective. The Director of Education, J.R. Orr, was offered the travel grant in early

107. A.A. Bond to Howard Cope, 23 September 1934, Bond file, F.A.M.A.

108. Bond to Errol T. Elliott, 30 June 1934, Bond file, F.A.M.A.

109. Report of Thuku's speech in letter from Chief Native Commissioner Maxwell to Sir Edward Northey, 9 March 1922, C.O. 533/276, Public Record Office. This speech makes numerous generalisations about missionaries, settlers and government. See also a rumour picked up by Hooper and reported to J.H. Oldham, 4 March 1922 (two weeks before Thuku's arrest) 'Amongst the lies which H.T. is said to spread abroad is that the missionaries are thieves and that both missionaries and officials are in the pay of the settlers'. (Edinburgh House.)

1922 on Owen's recommendation, but was unable to take it up.¹¹⁰ Three years later, Edward Denham, the Colonial Secretary, was made a similar offer, but he too had to refuse for the moment;¹¹¹ he did however meet many of those he would have met in America, by attending the Le Zoute Conference in 1926, and did finally find occasion to visit Hampton and Tuskegee in 1932, by which time he had been transferred from Kenya to British Guiana. The Chief Inspector of Education, E.E. Biss, was voted 400 dollars at a Board meeting of the Phelps-Stokes Fund,¹¹² but there is no evidence that he either was able to make the trip. And finally Governor Sir Edward Grigg was also unsuccessfully solicited to visit America.¹¹³

The larger part of all the visits mentioned so far had taken place during the twenties. For the decade that followed, the Phelps-Stokes Fund was going to have strong corroboration for its African visitor programme from an important agency, on whose initial establishment, ideology and financing the Fund had considerable influence. This was the Agricultural Missions Foundation (A.M.F.). It arose to assuage a demand that the Phelps-Stokes Fund had been largely instrumental in creating. For during the procession of Fund visitors to the South, there had been slowly growing

110. I. Tourtellot to M.J. Hunter, 16 February 1922, file 314, Edinburgh House, (now Geneva).

111. T.J. Jones to W.A. Ormsby-Gore, 7 May 1925, Phelps-Stokes file, Edinburgh House.

112. Minutes of semi-annual meeting of Phelps-Stokes Trustees, 16 April 1930, file A, P.S.F.A.

113. Visitors' List 1927, File A, P.S.F.A.

an awareness amongst missionary leaders of the dearth of truly rural-minded candidates for Africa; their absence was keenly felt too by many missionaries on the field who knew that there had been a contradiction in the policy that they had been practising to date. It had been their intention to develop a healthy native life in the Reserves, yet they had been party, through the Government incentives, to training large numbers of semi-skilled artisans who were no sooner trained than they left for the urban centres. These joined the many other Africans who had left the Reserves without going through mission hands. The result was the growth of the urban African population which in Kenya at least gave concern to missionaries who had seen in the March 1922 Thuku incident the new possibility of African mass demonstration.

Not only from concern or nostalgia for the rural life,¹¹⁴ therefore, did missionaries sigh to develop a more challenging alternative in the Reserves, but also as an antidote to detribalised politics. Owen has been mentioned earlier as conceiving his Welfare Association partially as a control on detribalisation, and another politically sensitive missionary, Handley Hooper, felt the same need for agricultural development. He had recently discussed with Dr. Jones the dangers of the 'vagrant and detribalised proletariat ... which has no cares of land or property to temper the menace of its smouldering discontent':¹¹⁵

114. For early criticism of missionary romanticism of rural life, see A.V. Murray, The School in the Bush (London, 1929), pp. 305, 324, 361.

115. H.D. Hooper to T.J. Jones, 10 August 1922, Hooper file, Edinburgh House.

Everyone is waking up to that menace but not the means of counteracting it; we need the encouragement of far more agricultural activity in the Reserves, apart from the training offered at one centre. If only we might have a Christian here who was also a trained agriculturalist who knew enough to experiment and to discover the staple crops which could become a paying proposition for the native small holder... such work would speak for itself, apart from the pupils whom he might be training and would be open to the observation of thousands of natives.¹¹⁶

The Christian trained agriculturalist was notoriously hard to come by. As was noted in the previous chapter, it had taken the most painstaking efforts of Loram, Jones, Oldham and the Colonial Office Appointments Board to find just one modern agriculturalist for the Jeanes School.¹¹⁷ And it had been impossibly ambitious of Orr in Kenya to expect to find thirteen European agriculturalists to implement his proposals to make agriculture the core subject of African schools.¹¹⁸ There were almost no suitable personnel at the very time when Hampton and Tuskegee were unfolding the possibilities of highly developed work in agricultural education. It was therefore a natural priority for the 1928 International Missionary Council Conference at Jerusalem to devote a whole

116. Ibid. There was a very obvious crop that did not need to be suggested to the Africans by trained Christian agriculturalists - Arabica Coffee. Its culture was a white monopoly except for limited African culture in parts of Embu and Meru country, see History of East Africa vol.ii (Oxford, 1965), p. 343. For further evidence of African demand for this crop, see Correspondence between the Kikuyu Central Association and the Colonial Office 1929-1930, especially letter of 14.2.29: copy of this pamphlet in the Arthur papers, Edinburgh University MSS. Division.

117. See chapter VI, references 46-47.

118. Observation of the Director of Education on Agricultural Education for Africans (This was the new Kenya Director of Education, H.S. Scott's, comment on his predecessor's plans.) copy in Edinburgh House.

session to Missions and Rural Problems,¹¹⁹ and not surprising that Dr. Jones delivered one of the four central addresses.¹²⁰ Planning started that same year which resulted in 1931 in the formal organisation of the Agricultural Missions Foundation (A.M.F.).¹²¹

The founder members were a small group of Agricultural College Presidents, Missionary leaders and philanthropists, and they received much guidance from Dr. Jones.¹²² All were Americans with passionate convictions about the agricultural lacuna in missionary training; but from England, J.H. Oldham had been working on precisely the same issue, and by coincidence arrived in America to submit his particular angle to the

119. The Christian Mission in relation to Rural Problems: Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, March 24th-April 8th, 1928, vol. vi (London, 1928).

120. T.J. Jones, 'Factors of a Programme for Rural Missions', pp. 88-99. in above volume.

121. Quarterly Notes (Bulletin of the International Missionary Council), No. 35, July 1932, p. 5. For fuller details of the A.M.F. and its establishment, see John Reisner's papers, Agricultural Missions Foundation, Interchurch Centre, New York.

122. Dr. A.L. Warnhuis, Oldham's counterpart in the I.M.C. in America, makes an interesting comment on Dr. Jones' part in the establishment of the A.M.F.; A.L. Warnhuis to J. Reisner, 28 April 1953, Warnhuis papers, Missionary Research Library, Union Seminary, New York: 'One day Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones telephoned me that Case had called a meeting of these college people at Cornell with the idea of founding some organisation which would attempt to raise very large funds. He realised that there was little hope of getting these funds from mission Boards. Jones and I agreed that the proposed meeting at Cornell might need some guidance and so we two decided that we too would attend that meeting. We did so and succeeded in steering the group away from utterly unrealistic plans, and accepted responsibility for drafting the constitution of a Foundation and of enlisting some additional members.'

Carnegie Corporation shortly after Jones had submitted a similar proposal on behalf of the A.M.F.¹²³ The scope of the A.M.F. was world wide, but it had in Jones' mind a peculiar relevance to the American and British missionaries serving in Africa. If it could obtain the necessary funding, it was conceivable that it might be the salvation of those values of African rural life so threatened at the time by detribalisation and the academic curriculum. How it might be an ally to his own protracted battle to adapt African education to the simplicity of African village life can be seen in the proposal to the Carnegie Corporation:

Only a small proportion (of American and British missionaries) have had specific rural training for the missionary task in Africa which is predominantly rural. African civilisation and culture being essentially agricultural, call for a dominantly rural Christian enterprise and a missionary personnel that has had an adequate training in the elements of rural life including agriculture, with due reference to the present primitive basis of culture and to the immediate development of a civilisation and culture that shall be primarily based on agriculture and rural life, and secondarily on modern industry and urban life.¹²⁴

This coincided with Oldham's own presentation of the needs of the predominantly rural communities of Africa. He too desired missionaries to utilise the American experience in agricultural and country life programmes which were so 'essentially the thing that Africa needs'.¹²⁵ And it was largely the result of his pressure that the scope of the

123. J.H. Oldham, Memorandum to the Carnegie Corporation on Rural Betterment in Africa, November 1932, file L-1, P.S.F.A.

124. T.J. Jones to the Carnegie Corporation, 23 November 1932, box 313, Edinburgh House (now Geneva); also T.J. Jones to F.P. Keppel (President of the C.C.) 12 August 1932, A.M.F. file Carnegie Corporation Archives, New York.

125. See reference 123.

Carnegie Corporation's appropriation in favour of the A.M.F. was widened to include British missionaries. In answer to these dual applications, the Carnegie Corporation was prepared between 1932 and 1935 to appropriate close to \$50,000 to the A.M.F.¹²⁶

Where the A.M.F. was principally to differ from the Phelps-Stokes visitor policy was in the length of study period, which now became more usually six months. A period of residence was specified at a northern university with agricultural traditions (often Cornell), but a very central feature of the fellowship remained the southern tour which ran on identical lines to the typical Phelps-Stokes itinerary.¹²⁷ The similarity was marked by Dr. Moton being on the Board of both organisations.

By 1945 the A.M.F.'s achievements were numerically impressive: ninety three travel and study fellowships had been granted for missionaries from Africa, and over two hundred itineraries had been arranged for observation and study of creative rural schools and community projects in the South.¹²⁸ No less than ten missionaries from Kenya and Uganda were afforded this longer exposure. One of these, Robert MacPherson re-emphasised an important point that had arisen in connection with Mrs. Hoyt ten years earlier¹²⁹ -

126. 10,000 dollars voted in 13.1.33; 5,000 dollars annually for two years beginning 1933/34; \$31,000 final grant of the Carnegie Corporation to A.M.F., 19.11.35.

127. Compare the itinerary of an A.M.F. fellowship (Appendix X) with that of the Phelps-Stokes Fund given in Appendix IX.

128. Pamphlet on A.M.F. achievements (circa 1945), file C-24, P.S.F.A.

129. See reference 97.

that the tours to the Southern States, even if they paid no attention to the Negro liberal arts colleges, could be a very radical guarantee of the possibilities of African development; whatever lessons on agriculture were or were not learnt in Tuskegee by the visitors, there was simply in the all-Negro operation of an educational machine vastly more complicated than anything attempted in East Africa an incalculable incentive to faith in the African. Macpherson explained its effect on himself and a fellow missionary:

We are missionaries working amongst primitive people in Africa. It is sometimes difficult to avoid the assumption (so prevalent among white races in that continent) that the African is of a child type, with child psychology and outlook and that he will remain so through succeeding generations....

We feel that to be shown (as has been so unmistakably demonstrated to us at Tuskegee and other places) that this assumption is baseless, has been an experience of great value to us. As missionaries in Africa, one of our beliefs is that it should be possible for the African to rise above the level of superstition and ignorance in which we find him. And as a direct result of this tour we return to Africa fully convinced that learning and the arts, culture and progress are not impossible to the African just because of his colour.¹³⁰

It is not unfair to the ideologues of the A.M.F. to stress that their central concern in bringing missionaries to the Southern States was by no means to have them convinced of the possibilities for African advance in the fields of 'learning and the arts, culture and progress': - quite the reverse. With the emphasis on the rural village community went an implicit rejection of the urban African's aspirations in these four areas; or rather, although missionary leaders

130. Robert MacPherson of the Scots Mission (Kenya) and W.H. Turnbull (N. Rhodesia), 'Notes on a Visit to the Southern States, 1st January-2nd February 1935, box 313, Edinburgh House (Geneva).

and the current educational theorists on Africa stressed that the education of the rural masses and the evolution of an African leadership were parallel movements, there can be little doubt that their preoccupation was with the rural people. Such was the power of what may be called the agricultural syllogism (Africa is predominantly rural, therefore will remain so) that there was little criticism (except African)¹³¹ of the rigid and sometimes moral dichotomy between town and country.¹³² Educational prescriptions were made for the country, and a few were recommended for the town, but both were offered with a strong sense that the country life must be preserved from urban infection and instability. Oldham made the point very clearly to the Carnegie President in 1932:

..... whatever industrial development there may be in certain parts of Africa, the fundamental basis of its life is agricultural. If this is the case, the primary object of both the administrative and the educational policies of governments should be the creation of a healthy, progressive peasantry and the development of a stable rural life.¹³³

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131. A. Victor Murray was one of these exceptions. A lecturer in the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, he had held a Travelling Research Scholarship to study Native education in Africa from April 1927 to Jan. 1928. The result of this tour, The School in the Bush (London, 1929) was quite the most thoughtful study of African education during the 1920s and 1930s. It aimed a good deal of criticism at Washington, Jones and Reisner's philosophical assumptions about country life; A.V.Murray, op.cit., pp.324-325. See also chapter VIII, reference 119.
132. A. Victor Murray comments on a discussion with Reisner, in a letter to J.H. Oldham, 2 June 1933 (Edinburgh House), 'I am afraid we gave old Reisner rather a bad time in these parts. The text of his sermon was 'To be urbanely minded is death but to be rurally minded is life and peace', and we fairly put him through it. ...None of these American chaps seem to be able to be practical. I never heard such mystical nonsense as he talked.'
133. J.H. Oldham to F.P. Keppel, 10 October 1933, Bliss papers;
[Contd.]

Even, therefore, if there is considerable evidence that both J.H. Oldham and his very able secretary, Miss B.D. Gibson, wished to make room for the emergence of highly skilled African elites,¹³⁴ it is equally important to assess what he was interpreted by Mission Boards to be recommending as a priority. And from this angle the Friends' Africa Mission Board in Indiana was not untypical in construing Oldham's message as directly relevant to the containment of African unrest, and as an encouragement to simplify further the school curriculum; its Chairman answered Dr. Bond's reports of African discontent in Kenya accordingly:

I am interested in hearing what you have to say about the degree of unrest among the natives. Dr. J.H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, was recently in Indianapolis, and a few of us got to meet with him. I believe his feeling was that we need to shift our plans from the more American standard of missionary work to a plane a little nearer to the natives, and do just a few simple things which will transform their village life more, rather than calling out of numbers which are more or less isolated from the village groups.¹³⁵

This interpretation of Oldham's thinking does not begin to do justice to the very serious attention he had been paying

133. Contd.] Kathleen Bliss is currently working on a biography of J.H. Oldham with George Bennett, and I am indebted to her for letting me see some of Oldham's papers in her possession.)

134. B.D. Gibson notes significantly, in an undated paper from the 1930's, 'There is a danger in Dr. Jones' principle of education of shutting down the lid on the whole community - because it is a farming community no one shall have a chance to be anything but a farmer.' (Edinburgh House.)

135. Erroll T. Elliott to A.A. Bond, 2 December 1932, Bond file, F.A.M.A.

to the challenge of modern industry on the Copperbelt,¹³⁶ but it is significant that it was his interest in the status of the African in the village and not in the city that he effectively made the subject of the only Advisory Committee policy paper on African education in the 1930s. This Memorandum on the Education of African Communities,¹³⁷ for whose drafting he was almost entirely responsible, he acknowledged as being the direct outcome of two closely related influences -- Thomas Jesse Jones' 'Four Essentials and the whole circle of ideas connected with them',¹³⁸ and the philosophy of the Agricultural Missions Foundation.¹³⁹

This Memorandum was not the only, even if it was one of the most notable, outgrowths of A.M.F. philosophy. Beyond the more devotional literature with its sometimes romanticised and metaphysical assumptions about country life,¹⁴⁰ there

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136. Oldham played a considerable role in the funding and organisation of the Copperbelt Study by J. Merle Davis, Modern Industry and the African: An Inquiry into the effect of the Copper Mines of Central Africa upon Native Society and the work of Christian Missions made under the auspices of the Department of Social and Industrial Research of the International Missionary Council (London, 1933); the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Carnegie Fund made this possible, despite Dr. Jones's initial anxiety. He had written earlier to the President of the Carnegie Corporation that he was 'somewhat disturbed by Oldham's recent activities as regards... Merle Davis' studies in Northern Rhodesia.'
137. Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, Colonial No.103, 1935.
138. J.H. Oldham to T.J. Jones, 1 January 1935, file L-1, P.S.F.A. The reference is to T.J. Jones, The Four Essentials of Education (New York, 1926).
139. J.H. Oldham to John Reisner, 22 October 1935, file on rural communities, Edinburgh House.
140. In the estimation of the A.M.F., the most outstanding books in this genre, distributed by the Fund, were: L.H. Bailey's The Holy Earth, and E.K. Ziegler's A Book of Worship for Village Churches.

were two seminal books produced under the influence of the A.M.F. ideals or of their direct aid. Each was illustrative in its way of missionaries in Africa who had properly absorbed the 'rural mind': A.D. Helser's Education of Primitive People, and J.G. Steytler's Educational Adaptations: with Special reference to African Village Schools. These two men and the schools in Northern Nigeria and Nyasaland where their ideas came to life, were the sort of products which both the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the A.M.F. policy hoped to create.

Both books were a considerable testimony to their authors' care and ingenuity in adapting to the primary school the simple materials of a village and its people's lore. Their political philosophy too was nearly identical - gradually to find a place for the African between the extremes of the traditional and the Western. Steytler thus turned his pedagogics to the old problem that dogged the era of Indirect Rule: how to improve without radically changing, and illustrated his method by rehearsing thirteen years later an issue that Dougall had raised in the early days of the Jeanes School, 'how to build an house which is superior to that in vogue though inferior to that inhabited by Europeans'.¹⁴¹ His programme in this sort of way involved the 'least dislocation' of the African mind and spirit, as it progressed to that "halfway house" between African and European, an environment 'blended to suit the African's aptitudes, capacities and culture'.¹⁴²

141. J.G. Steytler, Educational Adaptations: with special reference to African Village Schools, with special reference to Central Nyasaland (London, 1939), p. 217.

142. Ibid., p.xxiv. For an excellent discussion of "halfway house" theories of African culture in the Indirect Rule era, see P.J. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (London, 1965), pp. 163-165.

Helser's ends and means were a little more difficult to reconcile; the larger aim of his work in Africa he had explained to Dr. Jones as the creation of an educated African elite:

My whole aim and purpose is to fit myself in the best possible way to serve my beloved Africa. The hope of my life is to see a group of coloured man of the Aggrey type trained and set in responsible positions throughout Africa.¹⁴³

Aggrey had had, however, no halfway house education, as his twenty years in American universities demonstrated. Nor would Helser's methods, for all their imagination and excitement, ever create a 'Black European', as Aggrey was very widely called in East Africa.¹⁴⁴ An extended excerpt from Primitive Education will show something of his creativity within conservatism, which characterised the age:

Since the activities of each of the "hoeing bees" is about the same, I shall just describe the activities of one group. Arriving at the farm, each member of the group puts down all clothing except a loin cloth. The leader divides the group into hoeing parties. He divides the farm into two equal parts. The leader in each of these two parties divides his part of the farm into two parts, cutting off about three-fifths for the morning and leaving two-fifths for the afternoon hoeing. The teacher is along with his group to help hoe and to follow the group to make sure that a good job of hoeing is being done. At first the girls help to hoe side by side with the boys... Someone leads the singing as he hoes, and all hoe in rhythm. When everybody begins to get tired the girls put their hoes on a little heap and parade around the boys to the rhythm of music and the clapping of hands. The boys hoe with new vigour and the sweat soon begins to make lines down the faces. The songs praise the strongest and best hoers. If a hoe handle happens to break, its owner is acclaimed the "best provider of all". If the group is fortunate they secure a drum to help keep things lively. Some of the smaller girls take their calabashes and bring fresh drinking water..... The hoeing is completed about 4.00 ... About 5.00 they all parade triumphantly into the village. They have done what

143. A.D. Helser to T.J. Jones, 22 May 1930, file D-19, P.S.F.A.

144. H.D. Hooper to J.H. Oldham, 2 March 1924, file on Hooper, Edinburgh House.

their fathers and mothers have done, but they have done it with a new vim and with a new joy.....

Few big changes are suggested. The teacher and his wife, and the dispenser and his wife are a part of the community all day, and every day. A little happier here and a little healthier there makes a big permanent change in the life of the individuals and in the life of the community in time. A large part of the practices of the primitive villagers are highly desirable and a new glory is given to them.¹⁴⁵

It was surely a small symbol of Helser's indebtedness that fig trees, the present of Miss Cooley's Penn School, should flank his tiny, isolated mission in Garkida, Bornu, Northern Nigeria.¹⁴⁶

One last major occasion in the period before the Second World War when an opportunity was given colonial officials to acquire American Negro perspective for their African work was in the form of a Seminar Conference in 1937. This Conference on the Education of Negroes and the Native African was arranged by Dr. Loram under the auspices of the General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation.¹⁴⁷ Principles and problems common to African and American Negro education were thrashed out between Directors of Education and Inspectors from Africa, and State Agents for Negro Education in the South. Theory was discussed largely at the University of North Carolina and at Yale, while the practical

145. A.D. Helser, Education of Primitive People (New York, 1934), pp. 301-303.

146. For this and further evidence of the close indebtedness of Helser to the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Dr. Jones in particular, file D-19, P.S.F.A. See also Appendix XI.

147. C.T. Loram to A. Howe (President of Hampton Institute), 5 January 1937, and subsequent correspondence. For a most valuable account in 2 volumes of the personalities and events of the conference see, W.E. Holt, Memoirs of a Conference on Negro Education and Tour in U.S.A., 1937, Mss Afr.S.914, Rhodes House, Oxford.

observations were made over an extended period at Hampton. East Africans were again well-represented: R.H. Wisdom, the Chief Inspector of Schools and Acting Director of Education from Kenya; Harold Jowitt, Director of Education, Uganda, and Travers Lacey, Director of Education in Nyasaland who was to bring this experience to Kenya as their new Director in 1939.¹⁴⁸

It was by this time twenty five years, almost to the week, since J.H. Oldham had thanked Dr. Frissell for 'one of the richest experiences' of his life,¹⁴⁹ but the appeal of Hampton was as fresh and relevant to Jowitt:

Hampton provided us with a delightful experience and for one I am glad that it came at the end of our tour, for it came as a fitting benediction and maybe helped us to regain perspective. I felt there was a glow over the whole place and derived warmth and inspiration from it... I count it a great privilege to have lived for a short while in this atmosphere and from it carry away no little inspiration. Maybe it will help me to go my forty days, and to have a better stab at my job.¹⁵⁰

The twenty years between the wars had thus left unchanged the conviction that had united Dr. Loram, Dr. Oldham and Dr. Jones in the early 1920s. Loram's Seminar had been an institutionalised version for Colonial Officers of what had been going on under the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The Agricultural Missions Foundation was a development and reinforcement of a feature that no one had done more than Dr. Jones to stress. And when in 1935 the Foreign Mission Convention of North America issued their policy statement on missionary

148. Ibid. Also, KEDAR 1938 (Nairobi, 1939), p. 13.

149. J.H. Oldham to H.B. Frissell, 15 October 1912, Oldham file, H.I.A.

150. Jowitt to Arthur Howe, 29 October 1937, Howe Papers, H.I.A.

preparation, the debt to Dr. Jesse Jones' persuasion and preferences was too well known to need any acknowledgement:

Probably the most important of all experiences and observations for missionaries who are not acquainted with America's educational achievements for Negroes in the Southern States, is a tour of the schools in these states. The most notable of these are: Hampton and Tuskegee, Calhoun and Penn, the Jeanes Visiting Teachers, and the Rosenwald Schools, the Farm Demonstration¹⁵¹ and the Home Demonstration of the U.S. Government.

151. Foreign Missions Conference of North America:
Preparation of Missionaries for Africa (1935), p. 25.

CHAPTER VIII

AFRICAN STUDENTS IN THE STATES: A PHELPS-STOKES FUND
CONCERN

A further feature of the Phelps-Stokes follow-up was its role as adviser and benefactor to African students in America. This function was eventually to supplant the white visitor policy in importance and to be elevated into one of the chief characteristics of Fund activity today. In the early twenties, however, it was a policy initiated and shaped by Dr. Jones as a corollary of the suggestions to European and American missionaries in the Phelps-Stokes Reports.

There was reflected, nevertheless, a change in Jones' thinking about African students abroad even in the short interval between the publication of the 1922 West Africa Report and the East and Central Africa one of 1925. While the former, without giving the subject much thought, merely assumed that arrangements could be made for aspiring students to reach universities in Europe and America,¹ the East Africa Report sounded a note of high caution on the 'serious handicap' it must be for an African to undertake this 'entrance into the perplexing and conflicting tides of European or American life'.² This new concern with the 'danger to mind and morals'³ of Africans that overtook Jones

1. T.J. Jones, Education in Africa. A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission (New York, 1922), p. 66.

2. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa (New York, 1925), p. 44.

3. Ibid.

was not only attributable to the wave of educational and political protectionism for the African way of life, but was also a direct reaction to some of the difficulties he had already experienced in insulating Africans in the States from radical Negro and white thought, and from developing a Pan-African consciousness.

In chapter three, some of the East African parallels to Jones' attitude were noted in the strictures placed first by Governor Coryndon on African student exits to American Negro colleges⁴ - a ruling which had later been hardened into semi-official Colonial Office policy for East African dependencies by Churchill.⁵ The same arguments reappeared in the deliberations over the proposed Alliance High School in Kenya, and were an important factor in the Director of Education's decision to proceed with the project:

There are now Natives demanding such a literary education though not knowing what it meant, nor its effects: there are those who are speaking of going abroad for education. We have to satisfy that demand locally.⁶

For Dr. Jones the dilemma was to weigh the undoubted danger, as he saw it, of study abroad against the gains that would accrue to the student from absorbing the Hampton or Tuskegee spirit. Jones wished in his conversations with those who feared American colleges for African youth to make the same point that the first president of Hampton Institute, Samuel Armstrong, had made to E.W. Blyden 50 years

4. See chapter III, references 47-50.

5. See chapter III, references 49-50.

6. Notes on Meeting between Director of Education (Kenya) and the Executive Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council, 21 May 1925, in file Christian Council Correspondence, (Edinburgh House, London).

before; Blyden was then as fearful of taking up Hampton's offer of scholarships for African students as many colonial officials would be later. He had commented:

As a rule without a single exception, those (Africans) who go abroad for education return on stilts - altogether out of sympathy with their own people. They may be giants when they return, but they walk on their heads. The infants on foot who have stayed at home, are stronger than they for the purposes of the country.⁷

Armstrong, in reply, admitted the general point on the un-wisdom of sending Africans to the United States, but wished to make an exception for Hampton on the grounds that its atmosphere gave the students only 'moderate cravings'⁸ and satisfied these in such a way that the student did not find himself out of sympathy with his people on his return. With Tuskegee founded just a year after this exchange, Dr. Jones was by the twenties able to plead for both Hampton and Tuskegee as exceptions to the Blyden rule; and he received naturally considerable support for his position from an influential nucleus of people in Edinburgh House circles and the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education, many of whom the Phelps-Stokes Fund had helped come to America to study exactly Hampton and Tuskegee's African relevance. Among the most important of these were J.H. Oldham, Miss B.D. Gibson, Miss G.A. Gollock, Professor Diedrich Westermann, Alec Fraser, Sir Michael Sadler and H. Vischer.⁹

7. Southern Workman, ix, February 1880, Editorial.

8. Ibid.

9. Both Oldham and Fraser had visited Hampton in 1912, but revisited both Hampton and Tuskegee with Phelps-Stokes encouragement in 1921 and 1919 respectively.

Jones' interest in influencing African students went, however, beyond the provision at Hampton and Tuskegee of subjects which were the basis of his educational philosophy; international political considerations played an important part in his advocacy of this allegedly safe environment for the orientation of future leaders of African opinion. It had been noted at the beginning of the East Africa Phelps-Stokes Report, that epidemics such as Bolshevism could only be controlled by 'enlightened public opinion' for which reason 'both altruism and self interest combine in making it seem desirable that everything possible should be done to remove possible causes of serious friction or danger even in a continent so "remote" from the great capitals of the world as Africa'.¹⁰

It was not only from the possible danger of international communism that Dr. Jones suggested the protection of Hampton and Tuskegee, but also as an antidote to the efforts of both Garvey and DuBois to win Africans to their interpretations of Pan-Africanism. Since the death of Booker Washington, Dr. Jones had felt all the more urgently the absence of a leading, non-radical Negro voice, which could for young Africans modify the strident tones of The Negro World and The Crisis, and counter the effects of other Pan-African literature circulating in the continent.¹¹ And if Aggrey's presence on the Phelps-Stokes Commissions, with the

10. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, p. xiii.

11. A clipping of The Daily Telegraph, 22 November 1921, in Race Folder, (Edinburgh House); cf. also, E. Allegret, 'The Missionary Question in the French Colonies', International Review of Missions (London), xii, 1923, p.171.

unparalleled access it afforded to a succession of mass African audiences, was a partial counterweight to the Pan-African Congresses of DuBois and the growing power of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, it could not compete over a period with the 'gossip, rumors and propaganda',¹² which Jones believed reached Africa partly from American sources.

It was the reaction to this situation that led Dr. Jones to devote considerable time, energy and funds over the next twenty years towards the formation of Africans with the Tuskegee-Hampton spirit. The 'Good African',¹³ was not, however, to prove of easy construction, nor was the spirit of Tuskegee and Hampton to be so readily assimilable in the Phelps-Stokes sense as it was by the visiting missionary educationists.

By a curious coincidence, at this very period when Dr. Jones was most concerned to demonstrate Tuskegee especially as a stronghold against the winds of Pan-Africanism, there was a very remarkable young African, Simbini Mamba Nkomo, teaching African history in Tuskegee with the Pan-African convictions appropriate to the founder and executive secretary of the African Student Union of America. J.H.Oldham, in his Tuskegee visit of February 1921, was profoundly impressed in talking to him, and noted with some surprise the coexistence in him of two qualities that European missionaries regarded as antagonistic to each other - Tuskegee spirit and incipient nationalism:

12. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, p. 44.

13. Although the present writer arrived at the use of this term independently, he was recently informed (May 1967) that Dr. Gray Cowan has been urging its employment for a doctoral dissertation.

He is thoroughly loyal and has the Tuskegee spirit. But as I talked to him I touched exactly the same thing that one knows so well in one's Indian friends. It may be long in coming but sooner or later we shall have the same situation in Africa that we are facing in India.¹⁴

It was precisely the lack of contradiction between these two concepts that was to be an important aspect of many Africans' attitudes to Tuskegee. This was so with Nkomo. His African History lectures were deliberate attempts to communicate this nationalism, and were known to be such by Moton:

I am sure that I have tried to do all I could for the students who were in my history classes. In all my class work I have laid great deal of stress of the National spirit or the Spirit of racial selfvaluation which is the foundation of true progress along all lines.¹⁵ (Nkomo's emphasis.)

Much had obviously been achieved by Nkomo's lectures and organisation when Oldham could remark of the Africans that he met in Tuskegee that 'the striking thing to me is now all these men have an African consciousness; their loyalty is not Liberian or Rhodesian or Gold Coast, but African'.¹⁶ How this consciousness had grown under the direct influence of this man whom Oldham judged better educated than the average missionary is a not unimportant factor in assessing

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14. J.H. Oldham to Lionel Curtis, 11 February 1921 (originally Box 315, Edinburgh House, now transferred to International Missionary Council Archives, World Council of Churches, Geneva.). See Plate XI, for Simbini Nkomo.
 15. Simbini Nkomo to R.R. Moton, 30 April 1921, R.R. Moton Papers, Local Correspondence, 1921, Tuskegee Institute Archives, Tuskegee, Ala. (hereinafter: RRM.LC.1921.TUA).
 16. See reference 14. There were actually in Tuskegee at the time of Oldham's visit 2 Ugandans, one South West African, 2 Liberians and Nkomo, who was variously described as coming from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. I am indebted to Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Atlanta University, for showing me his lists of African students in the States compiled from college registers.

PLATE XI



PROF. S. M. NKOMO.

Prof. Simbini M. Nkomo, lecturer in History,
Tuskegee Institute, 1920-1924, severally described
as from Portuguese East Africa, Southern Rhodesia
and South Africa.
(The Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia).

the American Negro milieu in which the African student could range, whether he was domiciled in Atlanta or Tuskegee.

Between 1919, the year of the First Annual Conference of African students held in Chicago, and 1912 when Nkomo had sent out his first feelers to African students in American Negro colleges, lay seven years of painstaking work in promoting the values of combination for Africans. The result was an attendance at Chicago as high as 50 Africans;¹⁷ by the next year Nkomo had associated J.E. Moorland of the Coloured Men's Y.M.C.A. with his organisation as chairman of the African Students Fund, and had had long conferences with Max Yergan,¹⁸ who at that point still believed his departure as International Y.M.C.A. Secretary for East Africa was imminent.¹⁹ It may be safely assumed that in the bitter disappointment that followed Yergan's rejection on the grounds of race, Nkomo was deeply involved and concerned, as they had both fervently believed with Moorland that this would be 'the beginning of a real connection between the Christian trained colored Americans and the great body of African young men and women on African soil'.²⁰ At any rate, the issue of the American Negro as missionary to Africa was central to African Student Conference agenda from this point.

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17. Simbini Nkomo, 'The African Student Union', in The Student World (New York), xvi, No.2, April 1923, pp. 54-58; cf. also S.M. Nkomo, How I found Christ in the Jungles of Africa: The Story of My Conversion, (Greenville, n.d.), 16 pages, for Nkomo's African background. Copy in the Moorland Collection, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
 18. J.E. Moorland to The African Student Union, 18 June 1920; and J.E. Moorland to S.M. Nkomo, 26 May 1920, Nkomo file, Moorland Collection, Howard Univ., Washington, D.C.
 19. See chapter III, references 19-22.
 20. J.E. Moorland to The African Student Union, 18 June 1920, Howard University.

The beginning of the 1920 academic year saw Nkomo with a history post in Tuskegee but still continuing, through Chicago University summer school, his post-graduate work on the very partisanly-phrased thesis, The Bandowo Customs with regard to the similarity pointing to the Unity of the Bantu race.²¹ In a manner reminiscent of the omnivorous Aggrey, he took additional courses on Imperial England, History of Constitutional Law, American History, and justified these to Dr. Moton who had been suggesting work in the Normal Department, since 'the great need of our race is not that they do not know how to teach but they need to understand what they teach'.²² Unlike Aggrey, however, he could not turn the other cheek to racism, and here it is worth illustrating a little of the pride in Africa which Nkomo radiated and which had a demonstrable effect on many African members of Tuskegee and of the African Student Union (A.S.U.).

On an occasion in November 1921, when Dr. L.B. Moore, the Negro dean at Howard University, had been drawing in a public speech at Tuskegee a stereotyped picture of African indolence,²³ Nkomo's protest to Moton partook more of what Harry Thuku thought Tuskegee spirit than Aggrey:

In behalf of two hundred million Africans who were so humiliated by Dr. Moore's speech by calling them lazy creatures who go wild, naked and wait on bananas to fall on them and then they get up and eat them, I

21. S.M. Nkomo to R.R. Moton, 14 October 1921 (RRM.LC.1921.TUA).

22. Ibid.

23. Such addresses were not infrequent in Tuskegee and Hampton, viz. Hugh Saville, 'African characteristics', Southern Workman, liv, September 1925, pp. 421-426, where Saville, president elect of Makerere at the time, addressed the Hampton students on African untruthfulness, laziness, immorality and distrust.

was forced to write him a letter refuting his statements as fallacious ones. The historical facts are lacking in all what he said. I love the African race and have faith in them and I do not like to hear anybody white or black person speak slightly of the great African race. Any one who does it is a disgrace to the African race. My learned Dr. has lost faith in his own race.

We have lost our relatives in fighting for our native land, Africa, that we love. The reason why white man came over and took our land is not because we were lazy and did not use our land.²⁴

Undoubtedly Nkomo believed that there were few more suitable places than Tuskegee to broadcast his notion of African self-esteem, and there was no attempt to conceal the location of the A.S.U. Executive Secretary's Office when, the week after Oldham left, he issued his call to African students of the world to organise on the pattern of African students in the States; nor was Nkomo's conception limited to West African, or Subsaharan students, but was inclusive in its American membership of students from Egypt to Transvaal and from Ethiopia to Zanzibar; redemption of Africa, so ran the manifesto, could only come from the co-operation of Africa's educated minority realising the extent of their obligation to the 200,000,000 without education; for the moment the appeal was for every institution of any significance in Africa to form its own A.S.U., 'looking forward to the day when representatives from various parts of Africa can meet in a general convention to discuss the problems of common interest which bear on African people'.²⁵ Enclosed with the Manifesto went a copy of the Constitution and Bye-Laws of the

24. S. M. Nkomo to R.R. Moton, 1 November 1920, (RRM.LC.1920.TUA.).

25. S.M. Nkomo to a wide range of African schools, 16 February 1921, (RRM.LC.1921,TUA.). See plate XII for A.S.U.'s letterhead.

PLATE XII

C. BLOOAH, President
De Pauw University, Ind.
S. D. MFOAFO, Vice President
Boston University
REV. H. TANSI, Treasurer
Elkhart, Indiana
J. G. MOORLAND, Chairman
of African Student Fund

AFRICAN STUDENT UNION
"UNITY IS STRENGTH"

SECRETARIES

S. M. NKOMO, Professor of
Church History,
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
W. B. GEEGBEY
Ohio Wesleyan University,
AMANDA MASON
Wilberforce University, Ohio

Executive Secretary's Office
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Letter head of the African Student Union, circa 1921.
(Tuskegee Institute Archives.)

A.S.U. of America, specifying amongst much else that the President must be a native African.²⁶

It must be supposed that both manifesto and constitution had a wide circulation, as there were in Tuskegee alone Africans from West, East and South and Central Africa. What would not, however, be expected was that the material would be regarded as dangerous, and, as happened in Lovedale, South Africa, the students prevented from reading Nkomo's message.²⁷ Principal James Henderson warned Dr. Moton immediately why he had taken such action:

I do not believe that the course of history is to be reversed and that the uplifting of Africa is to be effected by a purely black man's combination.... Further our constant efforts have been directed to securing the fullest possible cooperation between the white and black races and naturally we do not welcome movements tending in the opposite direction.²⁸

Dr. Henderson's misreading of Nkomo's scheme, whose aim was to awake the Africans into being more than the quiescent partner in a white plan of redemption, was shared by Jesse Jones. He intervened immediately after their third annual conference to redress the misunderstandings in their attitudes to Africa and white people. Most particularly he was at pains to reprove them for their very unfortunate 'misunderstanding as to the coming of the white man to Africa'.

26. See Constitution and Bye-Laws of the African Student Union, June 1919, article iv.5.

27. It should be noted in extenuation of this action that there had been a riot in Lovedale a year before Nkomo's literature arrived, but if things were back to normal, as was claimed by the Phelps-Stokes Commission, it is difficult to understand Dr. Henderson's ban; cf. T.J. Jones, Education in Africa, p. 204.

28. Dr. James Henderson to R.R. Moton, 4 April 1921, (RRM.LC. 1921.TUA.).

'I called to their attention,' he continued, 'the conviction that the elimination of the white man from Africa would be a denial of the testimony of all history, which proves clearly that no people can rise without the aid of other people'.²⁹ As has been seen elsewhere, Dr. Jones was extremely sensitive to even the mildest expression of criticism for permanent white settlement in East Africa, and Nkomo's claims certainly ran counter to Dr. Jones' 'inexorable' social forces which would take more and more Europeans to the Highlands of Eastern Africa 'to work out salvation for Africa'.³⁰

An earlier brush between the A.S.U. and Dr. Jones had involved two of the first students to be sent to Tuskegee through the direct encouragement of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to West Africa.³¹ These two students from the Gold Coast, C.H. Clerk and Michael Ansah, were therefore very much test cases for the far-reaching claims that Dr. Jones had made for Tuskegee, and it was his firm intention that they should be allowed in peace to absorb the Tuskegee spirit. Thus, when he learnt that they were being urged by Nkomo to attend the A.S.U. Conference in Talladega College, he brought pressure to bear on Dr. Moton to prevent their going; the only grounds he afforded Moton for such action were his feelings that 'it is better for both of these young men to

29. T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 20 December 1921 (RRM. General Correspondence (hereinafter GC.) 1921.TUA.).

30. T.J. Jones to J.H. Oldham, 31 August 1925, file on the Phelps-Stokes Fund, (Edinburgh House).

31. A.W. Wilkie, a member of the first Phelps-Stokes Commission, had visited Hampton and Tuskegee in 1921. He directed the Scottish (formerly Basel) Mission in the Gold Coast, and had backed the project.

remain at Tuskegee pretty constantly this year so that they may obtain the full benefit of their work there'.³²

But there was little that Dr. Jones could do the following year for his protégés when Nkomo launched the most outspoken Fourth Annual Conference in Tuskegee itself. The Conference Agenda sufficiently revealed the tone:

Misrepresentations concerning Africa; Abolishing Restrictions on the Coming to America, for study, of African Students; Native Missionaries; Cooperation between Europeans and Africans; the Returning Students and the Mission Boards; How American Negro Students may cooperate with African Students; Liberia and Its Problems.³³

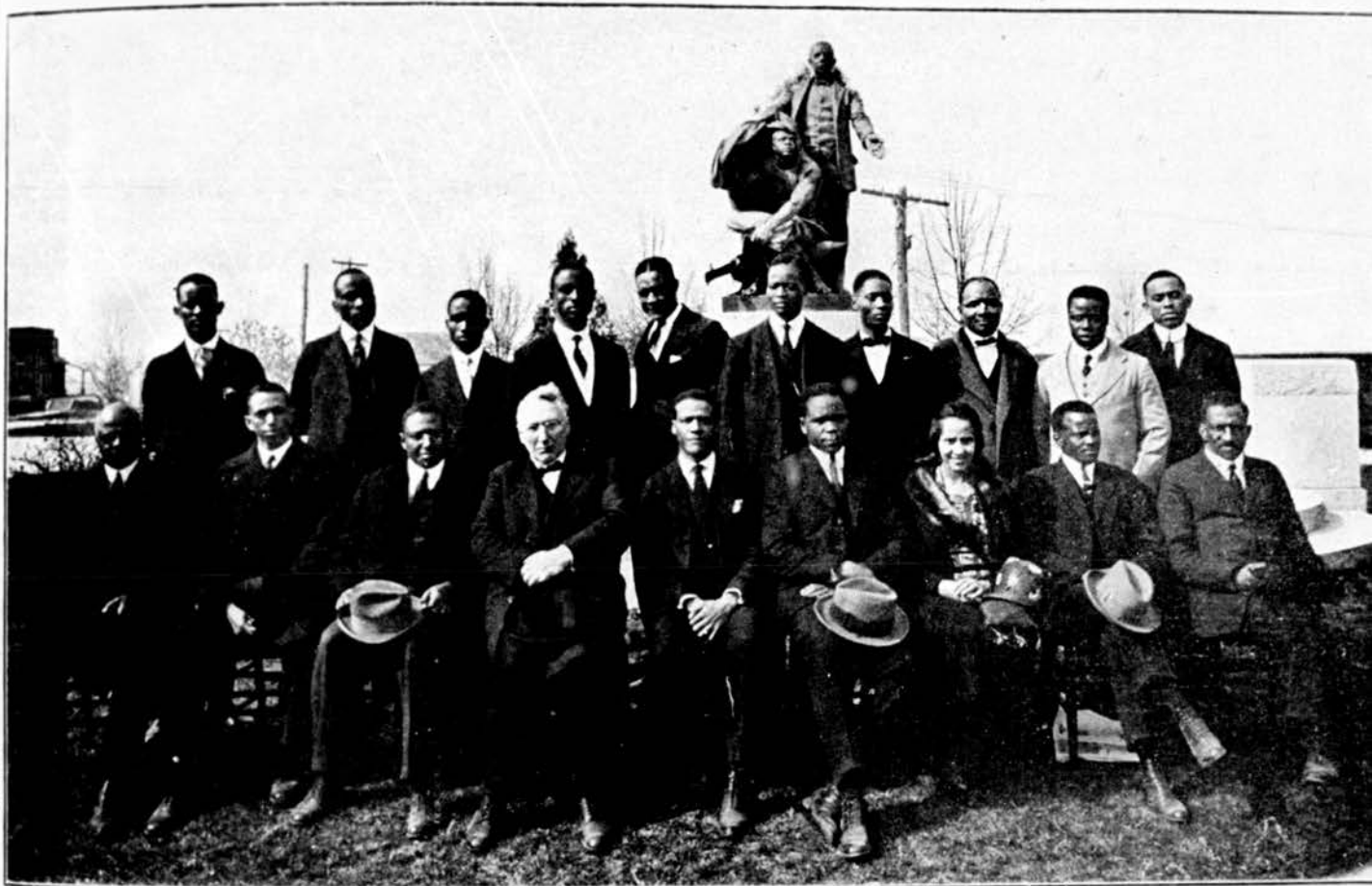
Added point was given to the Conference's deliberations on African students returning as missionary equals with whites, and to the unifying of Africa, by the presence of Kamba Simango of Portuguese East Africa, and his wife Kathleen Easmon of Sierra Leone.³⁴ For a battle was being entered at this very time over the salary that the Simangos should receive when working with the American Board in P.E.A.; accusations and retorts over racial discrimination in the operation of pay scales were flying between Dr. Gregg of Simango's old college, Hampton, (who was championing Simango) and the American Board, while Dr. Jones was entering the fray to ensure that this model Hampton graduate be not

32. T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 17 November 1922, (RRM.GC. 1923,TUA.).

33. Dr. W.J. King, 'The African Students' Conference', The Student World, (New York) xvi, No.2, April 1923, pp. 49-50. See plate XIII.

34. The African background and the beginnings of Simango's fascinating missionary career are well presented in Fred R. Bunker's 'Hampton in Africa - Shall it Be?', Southern Workman, lvi, May 1927, pp. 213-223.

PLATE XIII



MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN STUDENT CONFERENCE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE FEB. 24th, 192
TAKEN AT THE BASE OF THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON MONUMENT

The front row from left to right includes:-

Prof. Monroe Work, Dept. of Records and Research, Tuskegee;
Dr. Willis J. King of Gammon Theological Seminary;
Dr. D.D. Martin of the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa;
Francis R. Gow, music professor on Tuskegee Staff, from Capetown.
Kamba Simango of Portuguese East Africa.
Mrs. Kathleen Easmon Simango, from Sierra Leone.
Simbini M. Nkomo, Prof. of History, Tuskegee Institute.
Rev. Bethel.

The back row contains ten of the African students who attended
the Conference from Selma, Talladega, Hampton, Columbia
University and elsewhere.

(The Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia)

embittered by raw treatment at the mission's hands.³⁵ With the presence in the Tuskegee conference also of Dr.D.D.Martin of the Stewart Missionary Foundation, and Dr. W.J. King of Gammon Theological College, both of whom had given their lives to fighting for a just place on the African mission field for American Negroes, the real issues were disentangled at a very practical level.³⁶

The Conference records of the A.S.U. are valuable moreover in affording for East Africa at any rate the only contemporary African reaction to many of these most serious issues, and their study and assessment of the Phelps-Stokes Report for West Africa was a case in point. To students who had had to leave their respective countries for further education, Dr. Jones seemed to have placed the stress in his Report too exclusively on one area:

We have read with interest Mr. Jones' report and are glad for his emphasis of the need and importance of technical and secondary schools. We feel that in addition to this that there must be an increased emphasis on higher education if Africa is ever to relieve other countries of the responsibility of carrying its leadership.³⁷

Here as in so many other situations, the A.S.U. presented its members with the concrete need to prepare themselves for leading their own people, and inspiring them with the pride to take independent action if need be. This spirit penetrated as far as Kenya, and there is a tantalising fragment of evidence that a similarly independent body in that colony

35. C.H. Patton to J.E. Gregg, 25 April, 1923; 18 May 1923, Simango file, Hampton Institute Archives. (hereinafter, H.I.A.)

36. A very valuable source on this particular struggle is The Foundation, published by the Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, for the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa. (The only complete run is in the Interdenominational Theological Centre, Atlanta, GA.)

37. 'Fifth Annual Conference of the African Students Union', Tuskegee Student, (Tuskegee, Ala.), xxxiv, March 1924, p.5.

was inspired by Nkomo's vibrant Pan-African sympathies, to appeal for his organisation to start a school in Kenya. It must remain speculative, but is not impossible that this plea, coming in the year after what Nkomo called the 1922 Nairobi 'race riot',³⁸ could have been from one of those who started founding independent schools at that time, and would be an indication that some sector of that movement had a more than local perspective.

Suddenly and tragically Nkomo died in 1925, bringing to an end for a time this particular coalition of African and American Negro youth in a common cause; his presence at Tuskegee had held much attraction for the Africans, Nyabongo, Clerk and Ansah, who all, not insignificantly, left as soon as he did; and if for Dr. Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Fund the safety of Tuskegee consisted of an atmosphere in which white domination in Africa and America went unchallenged, then they were rightly suspicious of a man who could proclaim openly to his Negro brethren in America:

The South African Native will rule South Africa. The World will hear from the "Bantus", and it will not be a joke. I may be dead, Yergan and others may be dead, but the world will hear from the Bantus.³⁹

One reason why this digression on the A.S.U. has been justified is that it has helped illustrate a little of the complexity involved in protecting Africans in America from their more radical brethren. The explanation for what would otherwise now seem paradoxes is that the divisions between the conservative and radical Negro leaders were never so hard

38. S.M. Nkomo to J.E. Moorland, 25 April 1923, Nkomo file, Moorland collection, Howard University.

39. S.M. Nkomo to J.E. Moorland, 10 September 1923, Nkomo file, Howard.

and fast as Jones had led missionaries and colonial officials to believe. The temptation to oversimplify the enmity between the Tuskegee and Atlanta schools of thought, or between Garveyism and Tuskegeeism obscured the fact that DuBois was a close personal friend of Moton,⁴⁰ and Garvey one of the staunchest admirers of Tuskegee spirit.⁴¹ Although, therefore, Jones habitually viewed Moton as one of the bulwarks against DuBois' Pan-African movement, he would certainly have been surprised to learn that Moton was 'in hearty accord with the Pan African movement',⁴² and had told DuBois in 1921 that he would be glad to be put down as a member.⁴³ Nor had Moton any objection to having DuBois as visiting lecturer, and in November 1928, the Tuskegee students were allowed at some considerable length to hear DuBois' commendations of the fighting spirit of the young Africans in the States and at home, and were encouraged to fight for their own rights.⁴⁴ The two levels at which Moton had continually to operate were no better shown than in his inviting DuBois and his daughter to visit Tuskegee shortly

40. W.E.B. DuBois, 5 page memo to the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. on his trip to France in December 1918, file on Panafrika. 1919, N.A.A.C.P. Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

41. Marcus Garvey to R.R. Moton, 2 November 1921, (RRM.GC. 1921,TUA.).

42. R.R. Moton to W.E.B. DuBois, 9 March 1921, (RRM.GC.1921, TUA.).

43. Ibid.

44. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Present Condition of Africa', 12 page stencilled copy of speech delivered at Tuskegee, 25 November 1928, (TUA); see Plate XIV.

PLATE XIV



Dr. W.E.B. DuBois with Dr. Robert Russa Moton on the occasion of DuBois' visit to Tuskegee in November 1928. The Washington status is in the background. (Tuskegee Archives)

after Jones had himself asked Moton to participate in winning the Sultan of Zanzibar to an anti-DuBois position!⁴⁵

With Garvey a similar case could be made out: in their two African tours, Jones and more especially Aggrey had had frequent occasion, while giving publicity to the co-operative statesmanship of first Washington and then Moton, to squash the various myths about Garvey's power; 'If you love your race, tell it around that Marcus Garvey is their greatest enemy', Aggrey had to tell groups of curious Africans in Southern Africa,⁴⁶ and Dr. Dillard had found the same intense interest in Garvey with the students he talked to informally at Lovedale.⁴⁷ And yet only three months before the Phelps-Stokes Commissioners were putting the record straight on Garvey, and presenting more worthy models of American Negroes, Mr. and Mrs. Garvey had been spending the weekend at Tuskegee as Moton's guests; Garvey had given what he hoped would become an annual donation of fifty dollars to the Institution, and had lectured the students from the chapel on black pride.⁴⁸ In a masterly yet tactful reinterpretation of the spirit of Tuskegee, he demonstrated how accommodationism and the passive acceptance of low status jobs in unskilled trades were no part of Tuskegee spirit, but rather stubborn independence and limitless ambition:

45. W.E.B. DuBois to R.R. Moton, 21 June 1924; T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 14 April 1924, (RRM.GC.1925,TUA.).

46. E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929), p. 122.

47. J.H. Dillard, 'Impressions from East Africa', Southern Workman, liii, August 1924, p. 360.

48. Tuskegee Student, xxxiii, No.17, December 1923, p.5; Marcus Garvey to R.R. Moton, 2 November 1923, (RRM.GC.1923,TUA.). Moton was very ready to contribute to The Negro World an article for the Christmas Number, 1921.

I trust that the Tuskegee spirit that you have will make you realise that your place in the world will be cut out by yourself, will be made by yourself, and not by others. Repeating myself, no one can keep you down but yourself. The new doctrine that some of us are preaching is of that kind and we are endeavoring to inspire this present generation to look forward to the highest in society, in industry, in politics.... When you go out into the larger world to grapple with men and human affairs you must do it with the feeling and conviction of men believing that your place is there; that God has placed no limit on you and you are just going to rise to the place that you have got in mind.⁴⁹

But it was no individualistic programme of self-betterment alone that the students heard from Garvey, but also the corporate political necessity for a 'great black government' and for a 'greater Tuskegee' supported as much by Negro business enterprise as by the white philanthropists.⁵⁰

If Jones would have disapproved of Garvey's analysis of a Tuskegee spirit that did not depend upon the patronising concessions of the white community, he would have felt even more strongly about another Negro radical among that same week's guest lecturers - Dr. Carter G. Woodson. The latter's critique of the role of the white philanthropist in Negro benefit organisations had been becoming yearly more bitter, and in the citadel of white patronage, his convictions over the ease with which Negroes could be manipulated by white money would almost certainly have led him to reiterate his belief that 'the Negro is not worth saving unless he can learn to help himself'.⁵¹ But more than this general point,

49. Marcus Garvey, 'Address to the Faculty, Students and Friends of Tuskegee', 1 November 1923, 11 page stencilled copy in TUA, pp. 5-6.

50. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

51. See passim, Anson Phelps Stokes, Confidential Memo for the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which deals seriatim with Dr. Woodson's criticisms of Dr. Jones in the Freeman, 12 April 1924, (box 314 Edinburgh House, now in Geneva.).

much of his lecture concerned Africa, a continent whose advance he believed was threatened by white educational decision-making backed by handpicked African and Negro leaders,⁵² and whose true contribution to the progress of mankind could only be properly realised by American Negroes sending their own expeditions to investigate its condition. The remainder of his speech was a fervent appeal for race pride and race support, identical in spirit to both Garvey and Nkomo's plans for self-sufficiency:

When we look to others to employ and sustain us, when we are dependent upon white grocers, white mechanics, white undertakers, then we must be looked upon as an inferior group. We ought to some extent to be sufficient unto ourselves. We must develop in us the various powers to do this and that. Then we can look with a great deal of respect upon ourselves and we can claim more from the other man. We must have economic independence, that independence that will make possible our fostering the beautiful side of life in our own group, that independence that will enable us to encourage ambition and inspiration within our own race, to dictate the character and policies of our institutions of learning and show that we can make progress in business, in literature and convince the world that we are equal to any people on the globe.⁵³

To the extent that Tuskegee was thus not so conspicuously sheltered from radical Negro policies, as Jones and Oldham had described it, Governor Coryndon had at least been more realistic in attempting to levy a comprehensive ban on the entry of his Ugandans to Negro colleges than following Jones' distinction between the safe and the unsafe. It would have, moreover, been added weight to the case he presented to the Colonial Office, had he been able to show that both Ugandans,

52. Ibid., p. 21.

53. Woodson's address reported in Tuskegee Student, xxxiii, No. 17, December 1923, p. 5 (TUA). It is important to note that Washington himself could have spoken most of the paragraph; an analysis of where he would have stopped, and why, raises many of the fundamental divergences between the New Negro and the Washington school.

Nyabongo and Kato, were thus given direct access through Tuskegee to Garvey's and Woodson's ideas.

It is important, however, not to over-emphasise this spasmodic incursion of more radical ideas into Tuskegee, but to see it rather as an additional reason for some of Tuskegee's African students to seek an atmosphere of learning where such exposure was a more integral part of student life. With this introductory background to the difficulties of sheltering Africans in Tuskegee, it is now appropriate to look in more detail at specific instances of student acceptance and rejection of Tuskegee, as far as these touched the general policies of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Comparatively early in the process whereby Missions in co-operation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund were experimenting with further education for African students at Tuskegee, difficulties began to arise out of the reluctance of some Africans to remain there beyond a few terms. With this growing evidence of their dissatisfaction at Tuskegee, there was re-emphasised in Phelps-Stokes thinking a tendency to divide Africans into two distinct categories and make English missionaries aware of the difference. Anson Phelps Stokes acquainted Oldham with this:

The cases of Aggrey, Wolo and Simango are striking examples of the right type of men to send over. Some others who are here now frankly do not seem to some of us to have the force of ideals which makes them best qualified to get much out of their educational opportunities. If, as will probably frequently happen, missionaries wish boys to come to America, to study in schools like Hampton and Tuskegee, this fact should be very specifically mentioned, as we have found from experience that frequently when they get here they prefer to take the more cultural University courses.⁵⁴

54. Anson Phelps Stokes to J.H. Oldham, 15 September 1924, (box 315, Edinburgh House, now Geneva).

Dr. Jones, however, in making the same point to Stephen Duggan of the International Education Board, was more inclined to describe the activities of the American Negro intellectuals as the real source of danger to African students.

You may be interested to know that in the case of a few African students whom we have aided, we have found it difficult to keep them in such schools as Hampton or Tuskegee. As soon as they come in touch with the Negro intelligentsia of America, they desire to attend some of the outstanding northern institutions like Columbia or Cornell, or some of the more leading institutions of collegiate grade for Negroes in the South.⁵⁵

What is interesting in this categorisation of African students into those contented with Tuskegee, and the other sort, allegedly liable to be led by Negro intellectuals into preferring DuBois-type education, was that neither Aggrey nor Wolo had any of their education in institutions of a simple Tuskegee character; and although Simango had four years at Hampton, he insisted on pursuing his studies at Columbia. These exemplary Africans could number amongst their alma maters, Livingstone College, Teachers College Columbia, Harvard University, Union Seminary, New York, and Columbia University. And as far as their contacts with radical Negro intellectuals went, too little has been written so far on the near filial relationship that existed between J.E. Bruce, the Negro nationalist and Garvey supporter, and Aggrey for over eight years. This was itself a further example of a close liaison at the private level, such as would not be approved either by Aggrey's white admirers or by many of Bruce's black ones.⁵⁶

55. T.J. Jones to Stephen Duggan, 28 December 1926, file in Phelps-Stokes Fund Archives (hereinafter PSFA.).

56. J.E.K. Aggrey to J.E. Bruce, 28 June 1922, MS 63, Bruce papers, Schomburg Collection, Harlem. See George Shepperson, 'The African Abroad or the African Diaspora', International African History Conference, Tanzania, 1965, p. 9, (16 page stencilled copy in Edinburgh Univ. Centre of African Studies.).

With Carter Woodson, too, there is evidence that Aggrey sought a much closer working relationship than Jones would have thought desirable, and only three weeks before his death in 1927, he was preparing to join and become an active member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, which would be, he thought, of the greatest help to him in his work in Achimota.⁵⁷ Kamba Simango's attendance at the Third Pan-African Congress in Lisbon in December 1923 was also not entirely expected when it is known how safe an exponent of the Tuskegee-Hampton way he was considered by his white sponsors.⁵⁸

Of the Tuskegee Africans in the twenties, almost the first to be affected by restlessness were Clerk and Ansah from the Gold Coast, who, becoming disenchanted with Tuskegee after two years, blocked Moton's and the Phelps-Stokes urgings of Hampton as an alternative, so determined were they to attend Teachers College, Columbia University. Their intention was to acquire a degree in education which would allow them to decide what training was 'the right type for their people'.⁵⁹ With such conformist aspirations the Phelps-Stokes Fund had little time or patience, but what was so singularly forgotten when Clerk and Ansah were characterised as having 'the minds of children'⁶⁰ in their desires, was the example of a much more famous Gold Coast African writing two years earlier:

57. J.E.K. Aggrey to C.G. Woodson, 13 July 1927, box 6, access. No. 3579, add.1, Woodson papers, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

58. The Crisis, January 1924, p. 120. I owe this reference to Mr. Jabez Langley; see chapter V, reference 4.

59. L.A. Roy to T.J. Jones, 11 August 1924, file A-22, PSFA.

60. Ibid.

Mrs. Aggrey and children write me to leave no stone unturned to secure my Ph.D. degree. For it I have turned hermit.. I do not want to leave this country without the degree. I will need it and need it badly.... Dr. Jones, I just can't go to Africa without my degree.⁶¹

Some Africans were, however, brought for training in Tuskegee traditions on more of a contract basis, to be given a preparation for participation on their return to Africa in a specific experiment. Two of these were Miss Makanya and Miss Njongwana of South Africa, brought through the co-operation of Dr. Loram to become native experts in the Jeanes methods, which, as has been seen, the Carnegie Corporation was financing for East and Southern Africa.⁶²

Although it had long been their intention to come to the States for Community Service Training, the Penn School, specially chosen for them by Loram, did not provide what they considered a relevant medium.⁶³ For Loram this was a considerable personal reverse for his theory of the suitability of the Penn School for African imitation, which he had set forth in his policy paper - 'The Penn School Community Work as applicable to African Conditions'.⁶⁴ This example was symptomatic of the growing divorce between colonial policy and African aspirations, and it was no coincidence that brought both Sir Gordon Guggisberg, ex-Governor of the Gold Coast, and these two South African women to the same tiny island off the Carolina coast in the same month; their reactions were, however, predictably poles apart.⁶⁵

61. E.W. Smith, op.cit., p. 110.

62. See chapter VI, references 90-94.

63. Miss Makanya to C.T. Loram, 30 September 1928 (RRM.GC. 1928-9,TUA.).

64. See chapter VII, reference 26.

65. R.E. Wraith, Guggisberg (London, 1967), p. 287.

Transferred to Tuskegee, the women reported after a month that they 'had acquired about all the essential experiences which Tuskegee could give them'.⁶⁶ And as they prepared consequently to break their Jeanes contracts and go severally to Spelman College, Atlanta and to Cleveland,⁶⁷ Jones was understandably no less disappointed than Loram at the failure to create African Jeanes teachers in the American South. But again, Jones' conviction that 'considerable effort is being made to influence such Africans away from the Tuskegee conception of education and life',⁶⁸ was an unnecessarily conspiratorial explanation. The general theoretical background of Social Service training such as any white entrant to the field would demand was not considered an essential at either Penn or Tuskegee.

It was, however, two of the East African Tuskegee students who shed most light on the rapidity with which missionary and philanthropic patronage could be won and lost; Hosea K. Nyabongo, nephew of the Omukama of Toro entered Tuskegee in mid 1922, and Ernest Kalibala came on from England in 1925, with enough money from his father for half a year in Tuskegee. After spending six months in trade training in the auto-repair workshops, Nyabongo transferred to Clark College and Gammon Theological College in Atlanta, where he might better through a combination of courses prepare for university.⁶⁹

66. T.J. Jones to Anson Phelps Stokes, 24 July 1928, (RRM.GC. 1928, TUA.).

67. When Dr. Jones heard of their projected moves to Schauffler Missionary Training College, Cleveland, and Spelman Seminary, Atlanta, he gave it as his conviction that 'they should either remain at Tuskegee or return to Africa', see reference 66.

68. Ibid.

69. D.D. Martin, notes on Nyabongo, The Foundation, Nov/Dec. 1922.

Also within the year Kalibala was attempting to leave Tuskegee for Lincoln Academy in North Carolina.

As the Phelps-Stokes Fund had become involved with both students, Kalibala immediately found himself having to justify his move.⁷⁰ He did not expand on why the tiny Lincoln Academy should appear 'the long desired school' for him,⁷¹ but carefully explained instead that he was no missionary society's protégé under contract. He could then point out the need, especially in the colonial situation in Uganda, for securing a thorough general education before specialised vocational studies. This introduced an issue that DuBois had been urging since the turn of the century - the political implications for a dependent people of narrowly vocational studies.⁷² Kalibala expanded the point:

From what I know of the English people, I find that an industrial qualification that is not founded on a good mental equipment will be a great barrier to my useful-

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70. L.A. Roy to Anson Phelps-Stokes, 18 June 1926, (file A-1, PSFA.). H.M. Grace the C.M.S. missionary from Uganda had successfully sought an appropriation for Kalibala conditional on his staying at Tuskegee.
71. E. Kalibala to A. Phelps Stokes, 12 December 1926, (file B-4, PSFA.). One reason for Kalibala's preferring this tiny school to Tuskegee was the presence on the faculty of Prof. Orishatukeh Faduma, a founding member of the National Congress of British West Africa. His active part in the African Student Union was further reason. See Faduma's 'Africa's Claims and Needs', Southern Workman, liv, No.5, May 1925, pp. 211-225. Mr. Jabez Langley is currently collecting material for a biography. cf. also G.A. Shepperson, 'External Factors in the Development of African Nationalism, with particular reference to British Central Africa', Phylon (Atlanta, Ga.), xxii, No.3, 1961, p. 209.
72. W.E.B. DuBois, Souls of Black Folk ("Crest" paperback edit., 1961), see, 'Of the training of Black Men', pp. 74-78, and 'Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others', pp. 42-54; The Crisis frequently recurs to this theme; see especially, 'Education', The Crisis, xv, No.4, February 1918, pp. 173-178, and 'Education in Africa', The Crisis, xxxii, No.2, June 1926, pp. 86-89.

ness when I return home. I can only be used then as a tool and a footmat.⁷³

It was not, however, because Kalibala despised agriculture that he had left Tuskegee for Lincoln, but because he believed it should be vocational in the highly professional sense that medicine and the Christian ministry were:

I see that agriculture is a very important study and requires more preparation than I see in Tuskegee. I shall be more satisfied to go to Tuskegee and take up High agricultural work after preparation in other subjects.⁷⁴

What was of more importance than the particulars of this transfer from Tuskegee to Lincoln was that it gave occasion for an African to reflect upon the priorities of colonial education policies in East Africa which at this point in both Uganda and Kenya were increasingly being bent to serve the demands for skilled native labour. The development of Makerere as primarily a government technical college, and the new Native Industrial Training Depot in Nairobi did not constitute a trend with which Kalibala could agree,⁷⁵ and it was precisely because Tuskegee fitted so naturally into 'the mere industrial training that the Missions and Government are planning which is but little better compared with the natural condition of the people',⁷⁶ that Kalibala could not approve. Better, well-equipped native teachers he diagnosed as Uganda's most pressing need; and in a situation where only the missions

73. E.B. Kalibala to T.J. Jones, July 1926, file B-4, PSFA.

74. Ibid.

75. See chapter IV, references 88-89. For an account of the process whereby Makerere lost this original vocational emphasis, see Margaret MacPherson, They Built for the Future (Cambridge, 1964), chapter II, *passim*.

76. E.B. Kalibala to Anson Phelps Stokes, see reference 74.

had teachers of any qualification, Kalibala sounded a faint note of warning for European missionaries who held proprietary rights over Uganda's educational development, and thus anticipated by some ten years the clash that was to come between the missions and the returning qualified native educator: 'It is not that the mission alone going to level up our country, we, we the native, equip and hold the plough'.⁷⁷

Kalibala was within three years of this incident so to regain the Fund's favour as to be regarded as the most capable African in America;⁷⁸ Nyabongo's break with the Fund, however, was nothing if not final. The complex of influences that led him in 1934 to a complete rejection of their patronage and an accompanying most outspoken critique of interference with African students in America may well have had its roots as far back as the active role he played in the African Student Union under Nkomo.⁷⁹ His term as President of the A.S.U. himself in 1929 would have further sharpened his vision, especially as Azikiwe was one of the Africans who would have been associated with him at Howard through this office. The same year as this he was approached by Dr. Jones, and it was suggested that he had made a mistake in going to Howard and ought rather to have gone to an agricultural school.⁸⁰ Although he did not take the issue up with Jones at that time, four

77. Ibid.

78. T.J. Jones to J.H. Oldham, 22 December 1930, file B-4, PSFA.

79. Nyabongo had delivered a paper on 'America helping Africa', at the Fifth Annual African Students Union Conference; see reference 33.

80. H.K. Nyabongo to T.J. Jones, 22 January 1934, (file on Nyabongo, PSFA).

years later he was to return to the matter in another connection, and with the evidence of other African students to support him, launch a generalised attack on what he thought Phelps-Stokes preconceptions concerning African education:

I should like to tell you now, however, that your idea that all African students should take agriculture (or study in a trade school) is absurd. Of course, some of them should study in agricultural, industrial and trade schools; I myself have learned the handiwork of woodcarving. But we are sending out our students from Africa not to perpetuate our homeland as a country of agriculturalists, but to develop it. You assume a condescending air; you think that the African people must devote themselves entirely to agriculture. We are here to acquire all of Western culture that can be useful to us; the elements of Western culture that are suitable for us will be linked to ours, to form the new African culture that is to arise.⁸¹

The strength of Nyabongo's conviction was significant not only because of his opposition to African education seen primarily in vocational terms, but also because he presented with clarity the stumbling block in the Jeanes and other schemes for adapted education associated with the conservation of 'all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life'⁸² - namely that it must be an African rather than a European prerogative to decide on what might be profitably adopted from the West, and what retained from their own traditions.

The immediate issue that led to the severance of relations

81. Ibid.

82. Education Policy in British Tropical Africa: Memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, March 1925, Cmd 2374, p. 4.

with the Fund had, however, been Jones informing Nyabongo that he had 'remained in the United States for 10 years against the advice of people in Uganda and America'.⁸³ This would appear at first reading to be an insignificant dispute between Jones and Nyabongo on what length of time the late Omukama of Toro had really intended his nephew to remain in the States; what was properly involved in this wrangle was, however, the right of mature African students, having seen the extent of the educational opportunities in America, to prolong their stay beyond even their own original estimate. When, therefore, Jones intervened and gave his opinion, Nyabongo's reaction as he determined to repay what Phelps-Stokes money he had received, was one of the earliest articulate criticisms of aid 'with strings attached':⁸⁴

The aim of the Phelps-Stokes Fund is to help us get an education in the United States. This financial aid, however, does not mean that you are authorised to give gratuitous advice to African students. The Fund is supposed to be an aid to us - not a bribe. You may not know it, and I feel it is about time you did: namely -- that your attitude is resented by most of the African students in this country.⁸⁵

Before now turning to examine the Phelps-Stokes Fund's difficulties in nurturing even what may be called 'Good Africans', it is worth noticing that Nyabongo advanced the belief that his was very far from being an isolated view, but was shared by the large majority of students with whom the Fund had had contact. And in language strongly reminiscent of Carter G. Woodson, who believed himself to have been

83. See reference 80.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

similarly interfered with, he defined the African students' dilemma in terms which were by their very nature unverifiable:

They, however, cannot tell you these things, because they are bound down by the money which the Fund pays them. They must be silent, or they will lose whatever chance they have of getting an education. They accept the lesser of two evils, feeling also that sincere protest might be interpreted as ingratitude.⁸⁶

As it is convenient shorthand, the term 'Good African' will be used to describe a student with certain characteristics: co-operative attitude in race relations both in Africa and America; readiness to take advice on his education abroad and abjure politics; high determination to return to serve his people as soon as possible; capacity to serve on his return within the existing colonial framework. The overall conviction of Dr. Jones in this, his most ambitious task, was that exposure to America need not necessarily make Africans 'walk on their heads',⁸⁷ and if this belief, that he had taken from General Armstrong, needed any confirmation, there was the conspicuous success of its operation in J.E.K. Aggrey.

There was, however, a very significant contradiction, beyond those already mentioned, in showing Aggrey as the prototype of the Good African; he had stayed in the States for over twenty years, and had insisted on adding qualification after qualification to his name.⁸⁸ Perhaps some part of

86. Ibid.

87. See reference 7.

88. Miss Rosebud Aggrey informed the present writer (summer 1967), that in the preliminary sorting of her father's papers, she was constantly amazed at the abundance of certificates, diplomas and academic distinctions belonging to her father that she had known nothing of.

Africans' tenacity in staying beyond the terms suggested by their missionary counsellors and financial supporters must be traced to the very publicity that Jones was responsible for giving to Aggrey's career through the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and the much read biography and simplified readers after Aggrey's death.⁸⁹ This facet of Aggrey's appeal to Africans Jones seemed sometimes oblivious of, as he debated with missionary boards the problem of protracted study periods in the States:

I have had this anxiety with regard to a number of African students who have come to America. I am more than ever convinced that African students should come to this country only for a brief period and that after they have been carefully instructed in Africa.⁹⁰

For several of the Good Africans who will now be examined, it was the direct contact with Aggrey or Jones that gave them the notion to study in America, and in particular the idea that Hampton and Tuskegee might be the most appropriate colleges. And of these, few more vivid examples of the force of Aggrey's educated presence in Africa may be found than Peter Mbiyu Koinange's personal testimony as he considered the effect that attendance at Aggrey's open air meeting in Nairobi had had on him, when the Phelps-Stokes Commission had been in Kenya:

When I heard that man speak, I quit my job in Nairobi and walked twenty five miles to my home in one day and told my father, I must go to America where that

89. Kingsley Williams, Aggrey the African (London, 1933); this is a simplified version of E.W. Smith's Aggrey of Africa; cf. also An Annotated Bibliography of James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, 1875-1927, compiled at Livingstone College by Louise Rountree, 1964.

90. T.J. Jones to Dr. A.T. Schofield, 2 May 1935, file B-4, PSFA.

wonderful African was educated.⁹¹

As to the choice of college in America, the decision in favour of Hampton which Koinange entered three years later was very largely determined by his headmaster at Alliance High School, G.A. Grieve, himself just returned from a Phelps-Stokes visit to Hampton and Tuskegee.⁹²

An example from West Africa showed a similar pattern, as Paul Cardoso traced his initial interest in Hampton to Jones' Lagos visit of December 1920; by the time, however, that he had reached America in 1922, his alma mater, Kings College, Lagos, and his father had decided on the University of California for him. But the strangeness of America combined with his welcome from the Phelps-Stokes Fund made him, as he put it, 'not dare to risk going far away at that time from Dr. Jones, the only friend I had on the Atlantic seacoast'. In consultation with Dr. Jones, he chose Hampton as his place of study.⁹³

The two other Africans whose careers in America were very much entwined with the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and are of central

91. Dr. Horace Mann Bond most kindly made available his unpublished articles, 'African students in American Negro Colleges' and 'Contributions of America to African Education' from which this anecdote is taken. Koinange mentioned it to Dr. Bond in 1960. Mbiyu Koinange (he later dropped the 'Peter'), did undergraduate work in Hampton and Ohio Wesleyan University, and post-graduate work at Columbia, Cambridge and London Universities, obtaining his Ph.D. from the London School of Economics. Since Kenyan independence he has held several ministerial portfolios.

92. See chapter VII, reference 72.

93. Paul W.O. Cardoso, 'America and Nigeria', Southern Workman, liv, October 1925, p. 472; also file on Cardoso, Hampton Institute Registry.

importance to the study of the Good African were also from the West Coast: Eyo Ita, whose dream of reaching the States was fulfilled in 1931, ten years after he had met Aggrey in Calabar,⁹⁴ and Ross Lohr of Sierra Leone who only came to the notice of the Fund in his graduating year from Otterbein College, Ohio.

These four men, taken in conjunction with Kalibala in his later years in the States provided the nearest perfect analogue to the missionary visitors from Africa; for all of them Dr. Jones held the highest hopes; and there seemed little reason not to be optimistic about their reintegration into African life. But that difficulties of adjustment could afflict even Africans apparently most determined to co-operate with the colonial governments in introducing the lessons of Tuskegee and Hampton was a further setback to some Phelps-Stokes assumptions.

After Aggrey's death on July 30th 1927, Jones felt himself under increased pressure to find an African successor for him, and it is within this further perspective that these five men had potential. Lohr was the first mature candidate for Aggrey's office, and by August the same year, Jones was writing to Moton:

May I trouble you again as to Lohr, the African student. The passing of Aggrey gives new importance to Lohr, for I am now inclined to think that he has real possibilities for the future. He seems to me the best of all African students with the exception of Simango.⁹⁵

Lohr's case from his adoption by Jones in 1927 for the

94. Eyo Ita to Leo A. Roy, 26 July 1931, file B-4, PSFA.

95. T.J. Jones to R.R. Moton, 17 August, 1927, (RRM.GC.1927. TUA.).

next eight years was a paradigm of preparation to be the chief lieutenant of Mr. Keigwin, Director of Education in Sierra Leone. Keigwin had himself first drawn Dr. Jones' admiration when as Director of Native Development in Southern Rhodesia he had been, in the words of the East Africa Report, engaged in 'doing a work of unique and outstanding educational importance which will have a marked and beneficial influence on the Natives living within the Colony'.⁹⁶ The lines on which he had been working in Southern Rhodesia were further confirmed by his 1925 visit to Southern schools in the U.S.A. at the Fund's expense, and on transfer to West Africa his ambition 'to pattern the schools of Sierra Leone after the ideals of Hampton and Tuskegee',⁹⁷ led him further to visit the States in 1929. There he was brought through Dr. Jones to recognise the suitability of Lohr's own training for such an end.

Lohr had attended Summer Schools at Hampton, followed this with a year's teaching at Tuskegee, and received like Kalibala his Master's Degree in Education from Columbia University. With a further year heading a Southern college's Education Department, and a year at Hampton, he was poised to co-operate with Keigwin in the radical revision of the Sierra Leone system,⁹⁸ when Keigwin's illness brought a Director not 'favourable to Africans trained in America'.⁹⁹

96. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, p. 239.

97. Ross Lohr to G. Phenix, president of Hampton Institute, 24 July 1930, (Lohr file, H.I.A.); see also H.S. Keigwin, 'The Influence of Armstrong', Southern Workman, lv, No.2, February 1926, pp. 54-58.

98. Ibid; also Lohr to T.J. Jones, 29 October 1927, file B-4, PSFA.

99. T.J. Jones to J.H. Oldham, 22 December 1930, file B-4, PSFA.

To this rebuff, there was the additional complication of the Depression setting in, and nothing that Jones and Oldham could achieve in pressure was effective. Three more years were to pass in suspense before Lohr could bring himself to admit with some sadness the defeat of his hopes, and with them the loss of his training to Africa:

I came to America on my initiative - neither Church nor government nor any body is responsible for my coming ... My passport was visaed that I can stay indefinitely in America. Despite this, I was resolved to return. I even took the precaution that my wife's health would stand the climate of Africa before I married her. But as things are now..... with no prospect back home for a favourable job as far as I can see, not even in other parts of West Africa, I will be glad to pitch my tent at Hampton.¹⁰⁰

So passed also this opportunity for Lohr to fill for Dr. Jones the gap left by the death of Aggrey.

There were vexations of a different sort in store for Cardoso; he too had been made by Hampton very conscious of new motivations for service such as Armstrong had promised Blyden could be achieved by Hampton at its best:

Psychologically it has broadened my views. It has filled me with the desire to go home and use the Nigerian farm not for my family's benefit alone but as a demonstration to help other farmers in their problems and to get more out of their land.¹⁰¹

Once home, however, Cardoso's demonstration farming was an uphill task, and despite the encouragement of Fred Irvine, the Hampton-trained agriculturalist at Achimota,¹⁰² Cardoso found little understanding of his methods from the local

100. Lohr to Arthur Howe, president of Hampton, 3 October 1933, file on Lohr, H.I.A. For Azikiwe's similar difficulties in obtaining employment in Africa after his American education, see R.L. Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties (New Jersey, 1963), p. 51.

101. Cardoso, op.cit., p. 473.

102. F. Irvine to D. Fenn, Xmas 1930, Cardoso file in Hampton Registry.

farmers. Then when the mortgages on his farms had to be given up in the early depression years, many found in this, confirmation that he had 'made a sorry mess by taking agriculture'.¹⁰³ More than this, prejudice against the standing of the Hampton agricultural degree blocked his entry to the staff level of Yaba College, a precondition for which was a British degree, or an American degree from one of the large northern universities; it was only then as the result of persistent pressure from the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Hampton that the somewhat doubtful privilege of the Principalship of Mabang College outside Freetown was offered him.¹⁰⁴

Such obstructions as Dr. Jones had to face with Cardoso and Lohr were very largely beyond his immediate control and in neither case resulted in the students losing faith in the co-operative interracial policies for which the Fund stood. But Eyo Ita, by reason of the acute contrast between his American ideals and the grim realities of pioneer farming in Nigeria in the early thirties, gave rise to much greater anxiety; Ita's despair at the frustrations of introducing Tuskegeeism might, Jones feared, result in his embracing political remedies. The process of correcting Ita's wavering on the brink of politics and protest produced from

103. Cardoso to Hampton Institute, July 1931, Cardoso file in Hampton Registry.

104. P. Cardoso to Miss Mills, 28 January 1932, Cardoso file, Hampton. Cardoso did play a significant part later in the Nigerian Youth Movement, see R.L. Sklar, op.cit., p. 52. He received belated recognition in the naming of the new agricultural building at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Cardoso Agricultural Institute - Dr. Bond's researches have revealed.

Dr. Jones, the fullest statement on the returning students and their adaptation to colonial Africa. Ita's possible demise with its consequences for the good name of the Fund was the more surprising since his eulogy of Hampton and more particularly Tuskegee was unsurpassed by any other Phelps-Stokes visitor. His letters to Dr. Jones must have seemed ample justification for the policy of the Fund, linking as they did Hampton and Tuskegee as the secret of the Negro's amazing progress in the States, with the grateful acknowledgement of white philanthropy. They had given him a vision and a single hope:

I only pray for one step more before I sing my 'nunc dimittis' and it is this, that I should have the success of transplanting to the soil of Africa the best that I have learnt in these places.¹⁰⁵

But what Jones did not realise was that Ita did not see two similar institutions when he visited Tuskegee and Hampton; he saw rather, as he admitted to Moton, one as incentive to race pride and independence, and one as the direct opposite. His careful distinction between the two is significant, as it illustrates a not infrequent reaction from Africans to these colleges:

I observed five weeks at Hampton, but I have now come to see that it makes a whole world of difference whether a school is a Hampton or a Tuskegee. Hampton Institute firmly illustrates this principle that no people can ever attain the highest realisation of their potentialities under the control and direction of another, however well-meaning and wide-minded the latter may be. Here is a case in which the 'white' man gives his money, time and life, for the training of the Negro youth, but because the institution is manned by the white heads there runs an undercurrent of a feeling of repulsion, repression and the resultant vile complexes

105. Eyo Ita to L.A. Roy, 26 July 1931, file B-4, PSFA.

infused in the youth. Here I have found a free self-realisation that opens up the fullest and finest intellectual and physical forces of our youth. Both this institute and Govt. Hospital are great illustration to the Negroes and the world, of what we are and can be.¹⁰⁶

This description raises again mythical aspects of Tuskegee as the very principle of freedom and independence, similar to what was noted in Thuku's attitude to it, and these are none the less important even if in reality Tuskegee's freedom was as compromised as Hampton's. Indeed this view of Tuskegee demonstrates how risky was the delicately balanced inspiration that Dr. Jones wished Africans to absorb from Tuskegee - modest race pride, such as Aggrey exhibited, but without independence. To encourage the one emotion and not expect its frequent accompaniment was at best short-sighted.

It was not a side of Ita's thinking that Jones at any rate knew of until Ita had returned to Nigeria via the London School of Economics and was embroiled in fighting for the recognition of his ideals on a salary equivalent to a standard six schoolteacher in a structure 'dead against foreign trained students'.¹⁰⁷ He had accepted wholeheartedly the new ideas of education adapted to agricultural Africa, but it suddenly seemed to him that Dr. Jones' universal 'Simples'

106. Eyo Ita to R.R. Moton, 14th August 1931, (RRM.GC.1932.TUA.). For his own reminiscence of this early political interest, see Eyo Ita, Sterile Truths and Fertile Lies (Calabar, 1949), pp. 7-10, especially,

'... As Dr. Azikiwe revealed some time ago, way back in the autumn of 1932. I sat in my small apartment room in the International House of New York City and dreamed of West African Youth Movement. I saw a vast momentum of fifty million youths of West Africa marching as an inspired team.... That year I met my friend Zik in New York and told him we young people of West Africa must go home at the first opportunity to get things and people moving....'

107. Ita to Jones, 22 March 1934, file B-4, PSFA.

were insufficiently adapted themselves to conditions of the agricultural slump, or to gaining the whole support of the local community in radical self-improvement; what could happen then to the message of Tuskegeeism filtered through a mind groping for a means to communicate political, social and industrial initiatives to a backward community must in this passage be shown at some length to gauge its effect on Dr. Jones:

The gospel of better industry and more production seems equally futile for already the people have more than enough to eat and the surplus finds no market whatever. This would have been all right with our fathers in their happy nudity, and ignorance in the cave life. But having gone out of the 'cave' and eaten from the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, like Plato's man from the cave, we cannot go back, nor will we allow the gods to shut the gates of life upon us. We will have life. We must have life, fuller and more abundant life. Such is the situation with us, Dr. Jones. You have spoken of General Armstrong as coming to learn of human nature by firing bullets into it. But what will bullets of mere ideas avail in a country like mine, doubly prone to inertia. I wish I could have the means to open a small school where I could teach and give some small industries that might supplement our agriculture. We need the material knowledge to weave our own clothes, build our own houses with bricks and stones from our own fields, make our own glass and china, our pens and papers, since we cannot have them in exchange for our own farm produce.¹⁰⁸

Such questioning of the preeminence of agriculture with its dark undertones of independent action can only be fully appreciated by placing it in the context of 1935. The educational consensus of American and English experts in tropical areas were concentrating their attention in that year on the further ruralisation of the curriculum of African schools; this was the year of the Inter-territorial Jeanes

¹⁰⁸. Ita to Jones, as reference 107.

Conference in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia,¹⁰⁹ and of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee's Memorandum on the Education of African Communities;¹¹⁰ it coincided too with the 41,000 dollar grant from Carnegie Corporation and other sources to the Agricultural Missions Foundation in support of rural training for American and English missionaries to British Africa.¹¹¹ To Dr. Jones then Ita's writing showed alarming tendencies to reject the counsel of the 'wise and prudent',¹¹² whom he once trusted, and to prefer something fuller for his people than merely the next steps in improved agriculture - 'the simple realities known only to those whom Christ called "Babes"'.¹¹³ As for the suggestion that Ita might launch out on his educational-cum-industrial project, Jones, in dissuasion, gave evidence of an attitude to independent African enterprise which could only have been barely inferred from the reading of the African Reports.¹¹⁴ He cautioned Ita:

109. Village Education in Africa, Report of the Inter-territorial 'Jeanes' Conference held at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, on May 27th to June 6th 1935 (Lovedale Press, 1936).

110. Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, Colonial No. 103, 1935.

111. See chapter VII, references 121-126.

112. T.J. Jones, 'To an Able and Devoted African whose Studies and Experiences in England and America Filled him with Perplexity and Disappointment when he Returned Home', Southern Workman, lxiv, No. 9, September 1935, pp.279-282.

113. Ibid.

114. It is interesting to note from the West African Phelps-Stokes Report that whereas most mission or government schools gained a positive comment either favourable or unfavourable, Ohlange Institute in Natal, John Dube's independent school, received a completely non-committal description; cf. T.J. Jones, Education in Africa, p. 212.

My study of schools in Africa and other parts of the world is that independent schools begun by individuals are not successful. There are in America a very few exceptions, notably Tuskegee. In Africa, the successful exceptions are practically negligible. By all means attach yourself to the Government school system or to one of the well-organised missions.¹¹⁵

Ita's tentative steps in the direction of a more diversified local economy were similarly dismissed as the result of 'certain abstract conceptions of economic and social theories'¹¹⁶ picked up in London and New York, and his attention was refocussed on agriculture, in language befitting a member of the Board of the Agricultural Missions Foundation:

The acute need at present not only in Africa but also in America, Europe and Asia is an intelligent consciousness of Mother Earth. Certainly Africa is overwhelmingly rural. God's gift of the soil is only beginning to be adequately recognised by Humanity.¹¹⁷

Whether Dr. Jones had a proper understanding of the effect of the slump on West African agriculture is doubtful; or he would not otherwise have taken so personally the difficulties or failure of some of his students to make good. This led him even to publish his letter of rebuke to Ita and distribute it internationally to safeguard his reputation and provide a model for others who might have similar difficulties with African students.¹¹⁸

115. See reference 112.

116. Ibid.

117. Ibid.

118. The letter is reproduced in full in Appendix XI. For Eyo Ita's later political career as 'a pamphleteer for nationalism' and as Vice-President of N.C.N.C. from 1948, see R.L. Sklar, op.cit., pp. 121-123, 166 ff.

A further assumption which Dr. Jones had recourse to when a student who had been 'good' in America challenged the colonial government or mission authority on return was that of left wing interference with the student en route. The underlying notion here did little justice to the African's critical apparatus; it suggested that he would not unaided have found anything necessarily repugnant in his status on return; and only three months after the Ita affair, Jones was again on the defensive, this time from Ugandan missionaries incensed at Ernest Kalibala's failure to be smoothly integrated into the mission.

The initial contretemps over Kalibala's leaving Tuskegee for Lincoln Academy had been quickly forgotten, and throughout his training in anthropology in New York University and his Master's Degree in Education at Teachers College, Columbia, he had gained the complete confidence of the Fund. In addition he received considerable aid over this period from them, and their co-operation in study tours to Hampton twice and Tuskegee once. But there were auguries of what might happen on his return, had anyone chosen to consult his Master's Thesis, Education for the Villages in Uganda, East Africa,¹¹⁹ submitted in 1934. Its 85 pages were a valuable and, for East Africa, very early African criticism of educational theories which were now the stock in trade of European experts on Indirect Rule education.

Of these one of the most fundamental presuppositions was

119. E.B. Kalibala, Education for the Villages in Uganda, East Africa, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Teachers college Columbia, 1934, (85 pages).

that there was such a thing as 'Native Education' peculiarly suited to the Africans. This notion and its development in terms of health, sanitation, ability to raise native crops and moral training, was for Kalibala an 'empty theory':¹²⁰

It has no interest in the African child as such. It makes no provision for the development of the potential possibilities of the child. All in all there is nothing in this kind of education but pretense. 'Native Education' is a term frequently used to mean a selected body of ideas suitable to the African mentality, and arranged without regard to the development of the African as a whole person... They are the negation of the existing ideals of life and the opponent of the prospective African progressive life.¹²¹

The political implications of the term that Dr. Jones had popularised - 'adaptation', were spelled out no less clearly, and included in the sweep of his criticisms must be all those European experiments which aimed at establishing for Africans some medial position between unabridged traditional life and complete adoption of European ways:

This aim of education shall be thorough. It shall seek three conditions. First, adjustment; second, adaptability and third, transformation. I am very much opposed to the theory of helping the African keep their tribal life. I should be willing to do all I could to keep the African form of tribal life if the present social, economic and spiritual changes were within the keeping of the tribal life. But they are not. Most of the people who advance this theory see the benefit of exploiting the 'uninformed blacks'.¹²²

These were, of course, exaggerated terms in which to describe the well-intentioned efforts of those working on Jeanes and Malangali¹²³ type experiments, whose aim was to minimise the break between the old culture and the new; yet they do

120. Ibid., p. 32.

121. Ibid., pp. 32-33.

122. Ibid., p. 42.

123. For the Malangali school's attempts at adaptation in Tanganyika, see W. Bryant Mumford, 'Education and the Social Adjustment of the Primitive Peoples of Africa to European Culture', Africa, 11, No.2, April 1929, pp.138-161.

reiterate Nyabongo's point, so often overlooked in that period, that it must be the Africans themselves who decide what to preserve and adjust, and what to transform.

Kalibala was one of the first East Africans again to pick up the political significance for Africa of the use of the word 'simple' in educational writings. It had figured in the Memorandum, Educational Policy in Africa,¹²⁴ which had led to the foundation of the Advisory Committee on Education in Africa; the word was a continual theme of the two Phelps-Stokes Reports, and had reappeared in the educational recommendations of the East Africa Commission and subsequent reports.¹²⁵ It was particularly applied to the type of agriculture thought suitable for African enterprise - the improved one peasant plot. To this restriction on large-scale African initiative, Kalibala addressed himself:

Farming or agricultural pursuit has been advocated by all the people interested in Africa. By this is meant subsistence farming. The arguments employed here are that Africa is a rural country, that the population there will always remain rural, and that, therefore, the people must be directed to be able to get something to eat. Educational course on 'How to Live', 'How to Farm', 'The Use of Simple Tools', and many others of similar nature have been developed to meet these needs. I question this policy critically. Subsistence agriculture is a fine move, but not all the people in Africa are starving. If agriculture is conducted on a non-paying basis how will these people pay off their indebtedness?¹²⁶

124. Educational Policy in Africa: A Memorandum submitted on behalf of the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, 1923 (Edinburgh House), p. 2.

125. Report of the East Africa Commission, April 1925, cmd. 2387, p. 29.

126. Kalibala, op.cit., pp. 44-45.

But Kalibala had a contribution to make to the theory of African education, more essential than some of these negative criticisms of missionary effort; that in a situation of rapid social change such as the Ugandan village was undergoing there be no such thing as 'A Curriculum for village Schools in Africa'. Village populations were becoming too transitory for such conspicuously unadapted curricula. If Dr. Jones' criteria were strictly to be adhered to, education, Kalibala thought, had to be adapted to the new African life, where the city and the village could no longer have entirely separate prescriptions:

It is therefore proper to articulate village education with that of the city. There is no need to exclude or preventialise the children simply because they happen to be born in villages. Where there is no need to introduce all city methods in the village curriculum, there is a need to emphasise the fundamental principles of education wherever they are taught. When the village children follow the dictates of circumstance, education should step in to equip them with the necessary mental ability for self-adjustment and adaptation.¹²⁷

An acquaintance with this and much other level-headed criticism in his dissertation could have anticipated some difficulty in Kalibala's working within the C.M.S. in Uganda on his return; and these ideas were certainly in his head long before the alleged distortion of his thinking by English radicals.¹²⁸ At any event, by May 1935, Kalibala with his American Negro wife, after a short spell as assistant educational secretary for the C.M.S., had broken their connection with the mission to launch an independent school.

There was a paradox in the resignation however. For the

127. Ibid., p. 78. 'Preventialise' is probably for 'provincialise'.

128. A.T. Schofield to T.J. Jones, 2 May 1935, file B-4, PSFA.

Uganda Mission believed Dr. Jones answerable for Kalibala's theories; there had been, they alleged, a close correspondence between Dr. Jones' educational phrases and those that Kalibala had used to justify his severance from the mission. How this was so in the case of 'adaptation' has been noticed already, and it is not difficult to imagine how Jones' axioms like 'Working with Africans, rather than for them' and 'Education for Life' could have been similarly handled to mean something different from Jones' usage. Indeed, a study in the history of these and other educational ambiguities from Booker Washington through Moton, to Aggrey and Jones would reveal how many of these leaders' slogans and stories were double-entendres, some deliberately so, some unintentionally, with the interpretation depending on the colour or politics of the audience. The most famous of them all was Booker Washington's, and greeted each visitor to Tuskegee passing Washington's statue; it appealed to conservative South African missionaries as much as to West African intellectuals:

WE SHALL PROSPER IN PROPORTION AS WE LEARN TO DIGNIFY AND GLORIFY LABOUR AND PUT BRAINS AND SKILL INTO THE COMMON OCCUPATIONS OF LIFE. THERE IS NO DEFENCE OR SECURITY EXCEPT IN THE HIGHEST INTELLIGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF ALL.¹²⁹

The particular paradox of Kalibala's resignation was that he named his independent school, 'The Aggrey Memorial School', thus partaking in that side of Aggrey that appeared

129. These two sentences inscribed on the base of Washington's statue, are originally from the famous Atlanta Exposition speech, reproduced in Up From Slavery, (Nelson's edition), pp. 267.

in the famous 'Eagle' parable with its apparently unambiguous incitement to independence;¹³⁰ this mythical aspect of the independent Aggrey, of course, took little account of what white audiences noted with such satisfaction - Aggrey's uncompromising opposition to Ethiopianism, and the fact that he would never have founded a school independent of mission or Government.

The school founded in his honour was, however, a valuable illustration of what Kalibala had adopted and rejected from his own experience in mission schools and in American Negro colleges. The school's prospectus was emphatic on the strictly non-sectarian nature of the institution - as much a comment on the anomalies of mission zoning and spheres of influence in East Africa as on the positive non-denominational life in Tuskegee and other colleges. On the controversial feature of trades, he wanted to avoid the worst abuses of his days in mission school when he remembered the students being 'herded into cutting lawns, wood, and digging some ditches',¹³¹ and he had written in his thesis that he did not favour the Tuskegee system in which each student was necessarily bound to one trade. Instead trades would be

130. The story concerns an eagle finally learning to fly after long conditioning to behave like a chicken. The audience could fasten either on the length of the training necessary for the eagle to realise its maturity, or on the victorious flight. For the full parable, see, Edwin Smith, Aggrey of Africa, pp. 136-137. For a further aspect of Aggrey's mythical stature, see G.A. Shepperson, 'Myth and Reality in Malawi', Fourth Melville J. Herskovits Memorial Lecture, 13 April 1966, (North Western University Press, 1966), pp. 10-11. See also A.A. Nwafor Orizu, Without Bitterness - Western Nations in Post-War Africa (New York, 1944), pp. 289-292.

131. Kalibala, op.cit., p. 51.

used to give the school some measure of self-sufficiency, and provide, this in Tuskegee tradition, opportunity for poorer students to work their way. It is not impossible, however, that something of Kalibala's interest in vocational, agricultural and industrial education was determined by the fact that he was in the market for American funds, aiming to raise in 1938 40,000 dollars for a new trades building.¹³² The Director of Education in Uganda had however felt obliged to protect possible American donors by exposing the hollow claims of Kalibala's appeal to the Phelps-Stokes Fund.¹³³ And since most of the agencies that would be naturally approached for donations would confirm the good standing of the school with the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the appeal was not successful.

Kalibala turned elsewhere; and within a year had become the first outpost in Uganda of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A. (Negro).¹³⁴ It is an interesting footnote on this sketch of a good African from Uganda that he should be availing himself of the pages of the Mission Herald to counter white missionary claims to be the 'dominant benefactors of the Negro masses in Africa' and indicting so much of the missionary teaching for being

132. Copy of appeal to 'American Friends of the Aggrey Memorial School', in Kalibala file, B-4, PSFA.

133. H. Jowitt to Anson Phelps Stokes, 4 January 1939, file B-4, PSFA.

134. Frank Olmstead to T.J. Jones, December 1939, file B-4, PSFA; cf. also The Mission Herald (Philadelphia), xliii, No.6, Jan/Feb. 1940, pp. 12-15, in which the size of Kalibala's station is stated to be 200 acres, and offers 'unlimited possibilities for educational and religious development'.

'at the expense of the African independent development'.¹³⁵
Thus was the Aggrey Memorial School eventually supported by the same Negro body as John Chilembwe's Providence Industrial Mission.¹³⁶

It has been impossible in this chapter exclusively to concentrate upon East African students in assessing their American formative influence; it would have been even more difficult to restrict the terms to Kenya, as this would have effectively made it the study of a single student - Peter Koinange. His background in the States was, however, valuable commentary on his embracing the Independent Schools Movements on his return in 1938, and on his becoming founder of Kenya Teachers College, an institution independent of Government and missions.

It was noted earlier that he had come to America under the spell of Aggrey's oratory, but the choice of Hampton was almost certainly Mr. A.G. Grieve's, his principal, with some additional encouragement coming from Earl Cromack, the Hampton agriculturalist teaching then at the Scots Mission, Kikuyu.¹³⁷ On his arrival in the States he made his first contacts with the Phelps-Stokes Fund and proceeded to a Hampton that was as far removed from Dr. Jones' stereotype as could be imagined. As an introduction to interracial tensions, his first few days in the autumn of 1927, showed

135. E.B. Kalibala, 'Africa - The Unknown Quantity', Mission Herald, xlv, No.3, July/August 1940, p. 12. Fifteen years later, Dr. Kalibala would be continuing his early interest in 'African independent development' by playing an important part in the Buganda Lukiko Constitutional Committee.

136. Cf. G. Shepperson and T. Price, Independent African (Edinburgh, 1958).

137. See chapter VII, references 78-79.

him the Hampton students taking general strike action against the petty restrictions of the white staff on campus life; what may have affected Koinange incalculably more was, as part of this strike, to sit with the whole college in Sunday evening chapel and refuse to perform their famous Negro spirituals in front of visiting Sir Gordon Guggisberg.¹³⁸ The strike atmosphere died down with the suspension of the student committee, and Koinange felt strongly during most of his time in the next four years the inspiration of the Hampton spirit of preparation for service.¹³⁹

It was in this spirit of co-operatively interpreting Africans to Europeans that in 1931, Koinange addressed a six page statement to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.¹⁴⁰ This concerned itself with two issues that his father, Chief Koinange, might through lack of English be unable adequately to convey to the Joint Committee on Closer Union in London - 'the education of my people, and their future relation with the white race'.¹⁴¹ In tone and tact Koinange came closest to Dr. Robert Moton's second book, What the Negro Thinks.¹⁴²

138. The incident was kindly retold the present writer by Dr. St. Clair Drake who was a freshman contemporary of Koinange. Some attention is being paid to the strike in Dr. Edward Graham's centenary history of Hampton Institute to be published in July 1968; cf. also W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Hampton Strike', The Crisis xxxiv, No.10, December 1927, pp. 345-346.

139. Personal testimony kindly supplied by Dr. Horace Mann Bond and Dr. St. Clair Drake.

140. Copy of this letter (n.d.) in Koinange file in the Hampton Registry.

141. Ibid.

142. R.R. Moton, What the Negro Thinks (London, 1929) has at the end of the twenties a much more outspoken tone than the more Washingtonite, Finding a Way Out a decade earlier.

And it was in that quietly critical tradition that he found occasion to voice typical native Kenyan grievances. Not the least of these was for parity of educational provision between whites and blacks in Kenya before assessing comparative racial abilities. This was a particularly apposite subject for a year that preceded the publication of Dr. Vint and Dr. Gordon's widely acclaimed researches on the Kenyan African's brain,¹⁴³ with their implications of African mental inferiority; Koinange anticipated:

If you go to many parts of Africa you will find little neglected waifs of humanity screaming with the spiritual hunger and instinctively cramming their mouths with any rubbish...What is appropriate to still the cry of hunger? Would it be justifiable to shut out a mile-runner from food, drink and shelter for months and then expect him to break the record set by a trained old Pheidippides? The African should be given proper and equal education before his ability is estimated.¹⁴⁴

Just as in Ita's and Kalibala's cases there were pointers to the conflicts that would arise on their return, so also with Koinange Dr. Jones might have foreseen that he had larger educational aspirations for his people that the Government could accept. In 1934 Koinange had presented to Jones a scheme whereby he would on return with the help of the Director of Education carry out an educational programme that would not be confined to the Kikuyu people but extend to all tribes.¹⁴⁵ Even though he disavowed any 'aim to revolutionise or foster a political party',¹⁴⁶ the extent of his concern to give his

143. Correspondence in Edinburgh House, file on Advisory Committee; also, the clippings of Gordon's lectures from the British Medical Journal, 18 November 1933. See chapter VI, reference 72.

144. See reference 140.

145. Koinange to T.J. Jones, 11 August 1934, file B-4, PSFA.

146. Ibid.

life to assuage 'the educational hunger of three millions natives of Kenya',¹⁴⁷ would not be easily met within the framework of the Jeanes school, as he and the Director of Education had once hoped in 1935.¹⁴⁸

As is well known from his own account of his return,¹⁴⁹ he was offered a headmastership of a government school at a tenth of the previous European incumbent's salary, and rejecting this, founded the Kenya Teachers College in January 1939. What is less commonly remarked is that he embodied in the Kenya Teachers College many of the principles the Jeanes School at Kabete had been advocating for the last decade. True to the most progressive thinking on Indirect Rule education, traditional structures - in Koinange's case the Age-Grade system - was wedded to the organisation of the school. No better example exists for Kenya to refute the notion that Africans were opposed to 'adapted education' of the Phelps-Stokes sort per se. What was objected to was adaptation without consultation. This short passage is worth quoting to show its closeness to the European-initiated experiments in Malangali and Jeanes schools:

The age group system was transformed to serve the community educationally. Every person or age-group in competition with others identified himself with the College. They came to see the School and we had the children sing songs, some songs creating envy and others appealing for help, e.g. hospitality or boarding places for the students. Each age-group made itself responsible

147. Ibid.

148. Koinange to T.J. Jones, 16 January 1935, file B-4, PSFA.

149. Peter Koinange, The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves, (Kenya Public Fund, Detroit, 1955), pp. 26-29. Cf. also F.B. Welbourn, East African Rebels (1961, London), p. 154.

for one definite task. The Kismiri group decided to buy land and so did the Kihiumwiri. Shilling decided to give water-pump facilities, other groups to build a school dispensary and others to build the classroom building.¹⁵⁰

There has, of course, been an arbitrary element in selecting such a small number of students for analysis, but an attempt was made to minimise the danger of generalising from a small sample by selecting five students who rejected the Fund's help while in the States, and five who were regarded as model recipients of aid. It would not have been difficult - if somewhat tedious - to extend the analysis to further cases; and a great deal of work remains to be done on some of those who have not been included: the reverberations in the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Edinburgh House, and South African missionary circles when Kamba Simango broke with the American Board in Portuguese East Africa;¹⁵¹ the Francis Nkrumah who submitted his articles on education for Dr. Jones' comment and whose ambition it was with Dr. Jones' aid to 'carry on where his teacher and inspirer Dr. Kweggyir Aggrey left off';¹⁵² the three Ethiopians who came to the States in 1922, Melaku Bayen, Worku Gobena and Bashaward Habtewold;¹⁵³

150. Ibid., p.30.

151. File on Simango, B-3, Misc. students, PSFA.

152. F. Nkrumah to T.J. Jones, 29 January 1941, file B-4, PSFA.

153. Of these three most interesting Ethiopians, Melaku Bayen was a freshman contemporary with Nyabongo, and later founded the Ethiopian World Federation Inc., of which he was secretary; it is interesting to note that Prince Nyabongo and Dr. Ernest Kalibala were, with Worku Gobena, the three members of the Advisory Board of this organisation, 'dedicated to the Freedom and Independence of Ethiopia and the cause of Right, Justice and Full Opportunity for Black People everywhere'. (Muskingum College Archives, Muskingum, Ohio.)

the Phelps-Stokes relations with Kulubya and Balamu Mukasa of Uganda.¹⁵⁴ These would, however, have only added fresh emphasis to certain general characteristics that have emerged in the present sampling.

Few would question the vital importance of an agency prepared to devote much of its time and some considerable portion of its funds (18,426 dollars in ten years)¹⁵⁵ to promoting African student welfare in the States during the inter-war span, before scholarships for African students became a part of government foreign policy. There was a desperate need for exactly this, as Simbini Nkomo had seen in 1920, when, appalled by the deaths of three Africans through overwork and poverty, he attempted to establish an African Students Fund.¹⁵⁶ Undoubtedly also, as a result of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's concern in this field, some of the perils of immigration, visa renewal and emergency funding were removed, and Dr. Jones' personal correspondence with immigration authorities, allied philanthropic bodies and college entrance officials is sufficient testimony to his unsparing thoroughness in this area.

154. The role of Dr. John Hope, President, first of Morehouse College and later of Atlanta University, in encouraging these two talented Africans to come to his university needs more investigation; initially a friendship forged between Dr. Hope and Serwano Kulubya at the 1928 Jerusalem International Missionary Conference led to Hope promising college education to an intelligent candidate of Kulubya's choice (Mukasa) and finally to Kulubya's son also entering Morehouse College, (John Hope papers, Moorehouse; files on Mukasa and Kulubya at Howard University).

155. File A-5 1933, PSFA; also W.E.B. DuBois, 'If I had a Million Dollars: a review of the Phelps Stokes Fund', The Crisis, November 1932, p. 347.

156. S.M. Nkomo to J.E. Moorland, 10 September 1923, Nkomo file, Moorland Collection, Howard University.

What is in question were the political and educational assumptions within which the aid was administered, and more particularly the extent to which Dr. Jones' conceptions of appropriate African education led to a certain inflexibility in his advice to Africans in the U.S.A. His near obsessive fears of African contamination by black radicalism had led him to attribute to Tuskegee and Hampton capacities for immunising African students that they have been shown not to possess. Nor necessarily were the many Africans whom Dr. Jones exposed to the Hampton-Tuskegee way impressed by those aspects he intended. Tuskegee could often be to African eyes, a stimulus to attitudes directly contrary to the feeling for patient non-political co-operation; it could demonstrably become a symbol of separatist black politics, an incentive to aggressive business enterprise and an inspiration for independent, non-sectarian African schools.

Dr. Jones' predilections for agriculture and rural education further illustrated the danger of elevating into a Way of Life for Africans in training this admittedly important subject. There is little evidence that he was prepared to adjust its importance even when slump conditions in agricultural produce made it a very unsafe vocation. Indeed by the thirties, a route from Hampton or Tuskegee on to Mabel Carney's Rural Education courses in Teachers College Columbia had hardened into a standard recommendation of the Fund to Africans.

But the most serious aim, and the one whose failure caused him greatest disappointment, was to restore Africans to their

countries untouched by African nationalism and uninterested in challenging the colonial framework. This arose not only, as Alec Fraser of Achimota saw, from a tendency on Jones' part to attribute to Africans the same 'most meagre of political futures'¹⁵⁷ that Hampton and Tuskegee graduates could expect, but also from a more deeply held assumption of African innocence and patience. This basically racist belief, which of course extended logically to American Negroes, was widely held at the time; it was shared by J.H. Oldham, who wrote from Tuskegee that the impression of sanity, patience, absence of ill-will and the cheerful optimism of Negroes was 'so general and widespread, though of course by no means universal, that one cannot help recognising in it the expression of very admirable and valuable racial qualities'.¹⁵⁸ It was this ultimate conviction on the preservability of such Negro virtues that explained Dr. Jones' tendency to inveigh against white radicals and subversive propaganda whenever one of his protégés turned political; and it went some way towards illuminating his belief that J.E.K. Aggrey could be the norm rather than the very rare exception.

157. A.G. Fraser, Circular Letter No. 61 (London), 31 July 1931, file 14, Winifred Holtby Papers, Hull Public Library.

158. J.H. Oldham to Lionel Curtis, 11 February 1921, (Box 315, Edinburgh House, now in Geneva.).

CONCLUSIONS

The half century from Tuskegee's foundation in 1881 to C.G. Woodson's 'Miseducation of the Negro'¹ in 1931 saw the constant reworking of a very few great themes in the field of African and American education. Of these none was more representative of the age than the demand by the dominant white groups in the Southern States and the African colonies that Negro education should go off the white standard. If white rationalisation for such adaptation could be complicated by the variety of forces advocating special education for Negroes, it was no less possible to characterise Africans and American Negroes as divided on the subject. The period was not one that saw the imposition of a new educational formula against the wishes of its recipients so much as one in which leading African and American Negro spokesmen agonised over the extent to which they might allow differentiation for their people. The issue was further clouded by a sector of influential white opinion that gravely questioned the wisdom or safety of Negroes accepting a quite different set of educational criteria from the whites.

Something of the peculiar difficulty of adaptation may be understood from the diversity of calls for curricular reorientation in African and American Negro schools. A wide spectrum of opinion thought it entirely appropriate that in certain subjects - especially history, geography, literature

1. C.G. Woodson, 'The Miseducation of the Negro', Crisis, xxxviii, August, 1931, pp. 266-267. Cf. also, C.G. Woodson, The Miseducation of the American Negro (Washington, 1933).

and music - Negro children should concentrate on the achievements of their own race. But much of the argument among educationists revolved round whether such an adapted curriculum should or should not be combined with a programme of otherwise higher education. Such curricular changes could so readily be combined with low level training 'along their own lines', that some educators were extremely cautious of any move in that direction.² Indeed the range of the controversy might be best viewed by constructing a scale from completely undifferentiated Western education at one pole to an education thoroughly 'along their own lines' at the other, and by placing the various white and Negro authorities on this question at their appropriate points along the scale.

At one extreme would come Norman Leys and A. Victor Murray, both extremely sensitive to the political nature of Negro education, and both subscribing to Murray's axiom that 'differentiation without equality means the permanent inferiority of the black man'.³ At no very great distance from these two would come a large number of African students who had gone abroad for an education identical to whites, and who resented even the notion that there was any 'such thing as an African educational problem'.⁴ Several of these did have a keen interest in African culture, but made the extremely important point that it was nobody's business but their own to reinterpret African traditions in the modern world. In their various ways, therefore, Kalibala, Koinange

3. A. Victor Murray, op.cit., pp. 309, 330 ff.; N.M. Leys, op.cit., p. 113.

4. Ben N. Azikiwe, 'How shall we Educate the African?' Journal of the African Society (London), xxxiii, No.cxxxii, April 1934, p. 144. Cf. also chapter VIII, reference 120.

and Nyabongo all underscored Victor Murray's conviction that 'We foreigners cannot give him African culture, because it is not ours to give. We can only give him European culture, because that is what we have.'⁵

Marginally further along the scale would be placed W.E.B. DuBois. Admittedly no absolutely fixed place could be allotted to a man whose thought had so developed and changed over this half century; but certainly by the thirties, this early champion of white standards for the Negro colleges had come some way towards accepting a 'special education' for Negroes.⁶ Fully conscious of the dangers sometimes involved in educational theories 'suited' to the Negro, he yet felt there were legitimate reasons for a special education; for the Negro had been so 'hammered' into a separate entity 'by his history, group experiences and memories', that any education concerned to build up Negro pride and solidarity must deal with this history, civics and literature neglected in white institutions.⁷

Carter G. Woodson, out of his life-long crusade to give scholarly standing to Negro history, was prepared to go a good deal further than DuBois in pressing for a Negro orientation for the history, philosophy and arts taught in the Negro schools. Paradoxically, the process brought him

5. A.V. Murray, op.cit., p. 329. Cf. also, S. Carmichael and C.V. Hamilton, Black Power (New York, 1967), p. 37, 'Black people must redefine themselves, and only they can do that.'

6. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?' Journal of Negro Education (Washington), iv, 1935, pp. 328-335.

7. Ibid. Also W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Negro College', The Crisis, xl, No.8, August 1933, p. 177.

close to the programme of his old opponent, Dr. Jones, as he urged the abandonment of the traditional 'supposedly cultural' courses, and condemned the higher education of the Negro as 'largely meaningless imitation'.⁸

Less outspoken than Woodson, but equally convinced that Africanisation of the curriculum was not incompatible with the best that has been achieved in the West or the development of the African toward full nationhood was A.G. Fraser of Achimota College. After Fraser would come Blyden and Aggrey, both less aware of the political aspect of African education than Fraser, but nevertheless determined to weld African culture to the healthiest elements in Western civilisation.

Somewhat further still along the road of adaptation should be set J.H. Oldham and the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education whose policy he so influenced. And then finally at some distance again from either of these, must be placed Booker Washington and Jesse Jones. Both of these saw little political danger involved in the very large measure of adaptation they recommended; equally they gave small consideration to combining their own educational priorities with adequate safeguards for higher education.

Another constant thread throughout the period was the question of the extent to which Negro schooling should be an 'education for life'. This highly ambiguous slogan was entirely representative of the era, for it could cover the two main strains of opposing thought about the Negro school:

8. C.G. Woodson, 'The Miseducation of the Negro', see reference 1 above, p. 267.

first that the school could be an instrument to educate for a life beyond tribal conservatism or the confines of peonage in the Southern States; for such a life it could educate in despite of racial discrimination, creating an élite that could compete in intelligence with the dominant white society. And, second, the slogan could equally comprehend the view that a Negro or African school must be conditioned by the backwardness and low living standard of the mass of American Negro and African people. Such a view could challenge the school to discard every inessential course, and to equip its pupils for the realities of life in a prejudiced and underprivileged society.

Although it has been broadly possible to assign Armstrong, Washington and Jones to one interpretation of this slogan, and DuBois, Leys, Woodson and many African students to the other,⁹ there were times, nevertheless, towards the end of the period under review when even DuBois and Woodson wavered. DuBois in 1930 reopened the old dispute between the industrial and academic wings of Negro education, and re-examined in the onset of the Depression just how successfully each of two methods had prepared their pupils for life. He found that the industrial school by starting at the bottom had, with its long outdated handtraining, quite failed to build up the solid economic base for Negroes that Washington had sought; no less had the college failed to grapple with the new economic facts and the technology of the 1920s; rather (and

9. E.G., Eyo Ita to T.J. Jones, 22nd March 1934 (file B-4, PSFA), 'We will have life. We must have life, fuller and more abundant life. Such is the situation with us, Dr. Jones'.

here, DuBois re-echoed Jones) it had continued its 'old habit of wasting time on Latin, Greek, Hebrew and eschatology' and forgotten that its main task was 'to place in American life a trained black man who can do what the world today wants done'.¹⁰ Yet for all this temporary disillusionment with and denigration of the achievement of the Negro elite which he shared with Woodson,¹¹ DuBois never embraced the view of his opponents, Jones and Washington, that the school, by rewriting its curriculum, could by itself reorder Negro and African aspirations towards certain careers, or radically improve the African villages or rural life in the Southern States; the school could not, he was certain, change society:

These are the three disciplines which are the basis of intelligence, and which no school can fail to teach thoroughly and definitely, and call itself a school. Whenever a teachers' convention gets together and tries to find out how it can cure the ills of society there is simply one answer; the school has but one way to cure the ills of society and that is by making men intelligent. To make men intelligent, the school has again but one way, and that is, first and last, to teach them to read, write and count. And if the school fails to do that, and tries beyond that to do something for which a school is not adapted, it not only fails in its own function, but it fails in all other attempted functions. Because

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10. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Education and Work', Commencement address delivered at Harvard University, Washington, D.C., June 6th 1930, p.10 (copy in Southern Education Foundation files, Atlanta, Georgia), reprinted in Journal of Negro Education, i. 1932, pp. 60-74. For a modern day example of 'education for life' set forth by an African in terms very close to the language of the Phelps-Stokes Reports, see J.K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam, March 1967).
 11. See reference 1, p. 267: 'When I was at Harvard, I studied Aristotle, Plato, Marsiglio of Padua, and Pascasius Rathbertus. My friend who studied wool, however, is now independently rich and has sufficient leisure to enjoy the cultural side of life.'

no school as such can organise industry, or settle the matter of wage and income, can found homes or furnish parents, can establish justice or make a civilised world',¹²

This same quite fundamental disagreement over the possible functions of a school was transferred to Africa. Educators like Jones and Loram, and with them large numbers of missionary and colonial authorities, believed the school to have been responsible for creating in Africans the distaste for manual pursuits and the overwhelming desire for clerical occupations. It was consequently argued that the school could be the primary agent in undoing the alleged damage, by the simple expedient of curricular change toward a more vocational base. Thus in East Africa through the Jeanes system and by determined campaigns for industrial schools in parts of West Africa,¹³ an attempt was made to reverse the pattern of Africa aspirations. The very limited success of all such experiments in new types of education was less caused by insufficient finance than by the failure to realise that it was the rewards the colonial occupational structure that determined African aspirations, and not the fact that the schools were over literary.¹⁴ In pointing this out for Africa, it was perhaps A.G. Fraser who came closest to what DuBois had long stressed in the States: that education must be for full national life:

12. W.E.B. DuBois, 'Curriculum Revision' (Address to Georgia State Teachers Convention, April 12th, 1935, p. 6. in DuBois papers, Park Johnson Archives, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.)

13. P.J. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (London, 1965), chapter 5 passim.

14. Ibid., p. 164.

Now no national education should be directly vocational. It should train men and women to be intelligent, adaptable, useful and trustworthy in any vocation they may follow, but a national education must have a far wider outflow than any vocation or group of vocations can supply. There is a great outcry in India and a lesser one in Africa against the results of our literary education in these lands, on the ground that it has trained too many clerks and glutted the market. Then, in wondrous inconsequence, the complainants ask for vocational training in its place. But the very reason why so-called literary education has failed is that it has been vocational. Heaven knows, it has often been anything but literary. It has failed because it was vocational and has only been too successful in training students for one vocation.¹⁵

The last of the really major themes in this half century was the assumption that Africa should learn from the example of the American South. Although this became the conviction of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1920, and would remain a powerful element in their policy-making for the next twenty years and more, a rich diversity of educational links between Africa and the Southern States had been built up long before the first Phelps-Stokes Commission reached Freetown, Sierra Leone, on September 4th, 1920.

The tendency of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and in particular of Dr. Jesse Jones, was to proscribe as dangerous many of these relationships between American Negroes and Africans, and concentrate upon a single path;¹⁶ through Tuskegee methods

15. A.G. Fraser, Circular Letter No.61 (London), 31st July, 1931, Winifred Holtby papers: file 14, Hull Public Library.

16. Jones had no understanding of A.G. Fraser's point, that whites must prepare Africans for full national sovereignty, nor ever contemplated the possibility that Africans might attain that political maturity before their American Negro brethren; see T.J. Jones to A.G. Fraser, 14 September 1931, Bliss papers:

"The American Negro has now, and will increasingly have in the future a larger control of his destinies than any African that I know in any of the African Colonies.

"O Alec dear, of earth the cream
In Africa the shining light
Would you could grasp Tuskegee's dream
And guide the Natives on aright."

alone both in Africa and America could Negroes be educated to be constructively content. But for all its popularity with white educators, Jones' Tuskegee formula for contentment had little effect upon African or American Negro aspirations in politics and education. Some of the forces working against Jones' programme have been shown, but the greatest obstacle lay in this, his favourite conviction, that the Negro could by education be anaesthetised from politics. Ultimately not even Tuskegee believed it could do this service for its students, as was spelled out to W.E. Owen of Kenya by one of Tuskegee's Negro faculty:

I asked one of the heads, a negro, whether the young men and young women were happier after passing thro' the Institute than they were before entering it. My question made him pause and after thinking a while he said, 'I think that it probably makes them less happy', and when I asked him why he said so, he replied that it was because they became more sensitive to injustices and slights and felt their lower position in the estimation of whites more keenly than before. Well then, I said, why not alter the course of training so as to avoid making them more unhappy, and indeed are you doing them a kindness in making them more sensitive. He replied to this that the stage of unhappiness was inevitable, and that it lay full in the path of progress and could not be avoided.¹⁷

17. East African Standard (weekly edition, Nairobi), 17 June 1922.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Several points preliminary to listing the main sources are appropriate here. They should help to elaborate something of the peculiar nature of the sources used in this book, and may possibly indicate further lines of research.

Investigation of the archives of some American Negro Colleges is often complicated by institutional poverty, which has frequently meant that little money has been allocated to the preservation and classification of archives. Correspondence, however, in some cases has been faithfully preserved, but often in such a rudimentary fashion that research must be lengthy to be successful.

At one extreme, poverty has led to the complete neglect of correspondence which might well be thought invaluable to Negro history. For instance, in the now derelict buildings of the Gammon Theological College, and the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa, Atlanta, Georgia, correspondence dating from the early days of this century blows about on the upper floors, amidst some of the African artefacts that pioneer Negro missionaries, trained in Gammon, brought back from Africa. The writer saw, for example, letters from King Kyebambe of Toro, Uganda to Dr. D.D. Martin of the Stewart Missionary Foundation in these buildings. At the other extreme, the finely preserved records of Tuskegee Institute have been endangered by lack of space. Only last May (1967) all the correspondence attached to each of the past Tuskegee students' files was burnt. This included letters from some of the earliest of African students to seek their education

in the United States, apart from many eminent American Negroes.

A major source on the subjects that have been treated in this thesis still awaits classification, the voluminous personal papers of James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, which are still in the same house on the campus of Livingstone College where Aggrey taught. His daughters report that they will be classified and made public under the direction of Rudi Aggrey in the not too far distant future. As Aggrey seldom made copies of his correspondence, some of his letters must be sought elsewhere than Livingstone College; and another exceedingly important exchange of letters should soon be available between Aggrey and DuBois, from the W.E.B. DuBois' papers, presently with Dr. Herbert Aptheker.

It is further to be hoped that Dr. Max Yergan will go ahead with his intention of editing his own papers, as these reportedly contain some interesting insights into early American Negro contact with East Africa through the Y.M.C.A. War Work of 1916 and 1917.

Much more light will be thrown on certain important aspects of philanthropic aid with the completion of the current classification of archives of the General Education Board and the International Education Board.

Of the archive sources that follow, more detailed file and container references have been made in the footnotes; and while it has not been thought possible exhaustively to document periodical sources, some of the more valuable articles have been singled out for special mention.

i. PRIMARY SOURCES.

A. Interviews:-

- Miss Rosebud Aggrey, second daughter of James E.K. Aggrey.
- Mrs. J.W. Arthur, widow of Dr. J.W. Arthur, Scots Mission, Kikuyu.
- T. Godfrey Benson, Principal of the Jeane School, Kenya in succession to J.W.C. Dougall from 1932.
- Dr. Horace Mann Bond, one time president of Lincoln University, Pa., presently Dean of the School of Education, Atlanta University, Georgia.
- Major Walter Brown, commandant and dean of men, Hampton Institute, during 1920s and 1930s.
- Rev. Andrew Doig, one time holder of an Agricultural Missions Foundation fellowship to America.
- Dr. James W.C. Dougall, secretary of the East Africa Phelps-Stokes Commission, first principal of the Jeane School, Kabete, Kenya, and Educational Adviser to the Protestant Missionary Societies of Kenya and Uganda.
- Dr. St. Clair Drake, undergraduate at Hampton Institute, contemporary with Peter Koinange.
- Mrs. A.G. Fraser, widow of Alec Fraser of Achimota.
- Mr. A.G. Fraser, son of the late Alec Fraser, and colleague of J.E.K. Aggrey at Achimota.
- Miss B.D. Gibson, secretary of J.H. Oldham.
- Dr. Lewis Jones, for reminiscences of W.E.B. DuBois and J.E.K. Aggrey.
- Professor R.A.C. Oliver, one time Carnegie fellow appointed to the Jeane School, Kenya.
- Dr. Frederick Patterson, son in law of Robert Russa Moton, and third President of Tuskegee Institute, presently President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.
- Dr. Emory Ross, one time secretary of the Congo Protestant Council, and President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.
- Mrs. Edith Washington Shehee, daughter in law of Booker T. Washington.
- A.S. Walford, agriculturalist at the Jeane School.

W.E.F. Ward, colleague of J.E.K. Aggrey and A.G. Fraser.

Dr. Max Yergan, Y.M.C.A. secretary in the East Africa Campaign, 1916-1917.

(Interviews with the above people were all conducted during the period 1965-1967.)

B. ARCHIVE MATERIAL: in manuscript or unpublished.

a) Philanthropic Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York: papers on the Jeanes Schools in Kenya, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias and Zanzibar.

Phelps-Stokes Fund (New York):

Papers of the Educational Director of the Fund, Thomas Jesse Jones, including correspondence with missionaries, Negro schools and colleges, organisations for Negro welfare, African students in the States, miscellaneous individuals (1919-1940); papers of Dr. James Hardy Dillard, President of the Jeanes and Slater Funds.

Southern Education Foundation (Atlanta, Georgia): papers of the Jeanes and Slater Funds.

b) Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities:

Fisk University, (Nashville, Tennessee):

- i) W.E.B. DuBois' printed papers, drafts of articles and correspondence.
- ii) Rosenwald Fund Archives.
- iii) American Missionary Association Archives.

Hampton Institute (Hampton, Virginia):

Papers of Hampton Presidents, S.C. Armstrong; H.B. Frissell; J.E. Gregg; Arthur Howe; especially correspondence with T.J. Jones and B.T. Washington; files on Hampton students.

Howard University (Washington D.C.)

(Moorland Collection): papers of John Hope, president of Morehouse College; correspondence of J.E. Moorland with Y.M.C.A. officials, especially J.E.K. Aggrey (1900), Max Yergan, and Simbini Nkomo. See, Simbini Nkomo, How I found Christ in the Jungles of Africa: The Story of my Conversion (Greenville, circ. 1917).

Morehouse College (Atlanta):

John Hope papers.

Tuskegee Institute (Alabama):

Papers of President R.R. Moton from 1917 to 1934, general and local correspondence.
Boxes of clippings on the Negro in Africa and America, broken down annually by subject and arranged under the direction of Monroe Work, first director of the Tuskegee Department of Records and Research.

c) Other Universities and Colleges:

Muskingum College (Muskingum, Ohio):

Files on Ethiopian students and correspondence with T.J. Jones, 1922-1923.

Yale University, department of manuscripts of the University Library.

Papers of Anson Phelps Stokes, chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Papers of C.T. Loram, one time Sterling Professor of Education, and Chairman and Director of graduate studies, Dept. of Race Relations.

Edinburgh University:

J.W. Arthur papers and photograph albums.
G.A. Grieve papers, especially material on Alliance High School, Kenya.
A.R. Barlow papers.

d) MISSIONARY AND CHURCH-RELATED ARCHIVES.

American Friends Board of Missions (Richmond Indiana):

Correspondence of missionaries of the Friends' Africa Mission, Kaimosi, Kenya, 1910-1939.

Church of Scotland:

Foreign Mission papers, held in the National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh), especially the letterbooks of W.M. McLachlan. Also papers and letterbooks not released to National Library, in Church of Scotland Offices, Edinburgh, especially letterbooks of J.W.C. Dougall.

Church Missionary Society (London):

Letterbooks of Africa secretary, H.D. Hooper.
Private and confidential report of Dr. Garfield Williams on Education in Kenya, 1924.
Wilfred E. Owen papers, with diaries and clippings.

Edinburgh House (Headquarters of British Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and N. Ireland (London)):

Classification of material in these archives has been made more difficult by the transfer to the World Council of Churches, Geneva, of papers related to the International Missionary Council. Boxes of America-related material were transferred, especially important being boxes 313-315, and 2 boxes of materials on Race. A temporary code

has been employed in this thesis to facilitate reference to the remaining relevant boxes, most of which contain J.H. Oldham's correspondence.

- Q-A = box on East Africa: Kenya: Education: General Material.
- Q-B = box of correspondence with N.M. Leys, W.E. Owen, W. McGregor Ross; see especially, 'Copy of 48 page letter sent by Dr. Norman Leys, Medical Officer, Nyasaland to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 7.2.18'.
- Q-C = Africa: box on Conference of Missionary Societies at High Leigh, 1924. See especially, T.J. Jones, 'An Educational Policy for African Colonies'.
- Q-D = Africa General: Education. Mission Policy.
- Q-E = Africa: General Education. Approach to the Colonial Office. Advisory Committee for Education in Africa.
- Q-F = Education: Kenya. Nyasaland; Zanzibar Reports 1920 etc.
- Q-G = Kenya: Education: Jeanes School.
- Q-H = Education: Central Africa: including extracts from J.W.C. Dougall's Journal.
- Q-I = Kenya: Education Adviser: Mainly Dougall.
- Q-J = Phelps-Stokes Fund, Thomas Jesse Jones.
- Q-K = East Africa: Kenya: Hooper File and Arthur File.
- Q-M = Advisory Committee Files.
- Q-N = African Education Group.
- Q-O = African General Education. Africa Education Group.
- Q-P = Africa General.
- Q-R = East Africa: Tanganyika: Education.
- Q-S = East Africa: Uganda: Education.

National Council of Churches of America (New York)

- i) Archives of the Committee of Reference and Counsel.
- ii) Archives of the Committee on Race Relations.
- iii) Archives of the Agricultural Missions Foundation (especially John Reisner's papers.)

Missionary Research Library of Union Theological College (New York):

- i) A.L. Warnhuis papers.
- ii) C.H. Fahs papers, especially for material on Aggrey.
- iii) Papers of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, 1910.

Y.M.C.A. Historical Library (New York):

Reports of Foreign Secretaries during First World War, in British East Africa. Correspondence re Max Yergan. John Mott papers.

e) OFFICIAL AND SEMI-OFFICIAL:

Library of Congress (Washington D.C.):

- i) B.T. Washington papers, especially material on International Conference on the Negro 1912, and correspondence with Anson Phelps Stokes and T.J. Jones.
- ii) G.F. Peabody Papers.
- iii) National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People archives.
- iv) Carter G. Woodson Papers.

Tennessee State Archives (Nashville, Tenn.):

Fayette Avery McKenzie papers, correspondence with T.J. Jones.

Schomburg Collection of New York Public Library (New York):

J.E. Bruce papers.

Public Record Office (London):

Especially Kenya papers: C.O. 533/276 (1922) to 533/363/xf7877 (1926).

Rhodes House (Oxford):

- i) W.E. Holt, Memoir of a Conference on Negro Education and Tour in U.S.A., 1937, 2 vols. diary. MSS. Afr. s.914.
- ii) R.T. Coryndon papers. MSS.Afr.s.633.
- iii) A.G. Fraser papers.
- iv) E.B. Denham, 30 vols. diaries.

Hull Public Library (England):

Winifred Holtby collection, especially for Leys' correspondence.

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f) PAPERS IN PRIVATE POSSESSION:

T.G. Benson papers, kindly lent to the writer but to be placed in Rhodes House during 1968; especially for materials on the Jeanes School, Kabete, Kenya.

Kathleen Bliss papers: at present a quantity of J.H. Oldham papers previously in the possession of Miss B.D. Gibson are with Mrs. Bliss.

H.M. Bond papers: especially for his data on African students in the United States.

J.W.C. Dougall papers: for material and pamphlets on the Jeanes School.

Miss B.D. Gibson: papers, many of which now transferred to Mrs. Bliss.

John Grigg papers: a professionally catalogued selection of Sir Edward Grigg's correspondence.

C. PAMPHLETS AND REPORTS.

Jones, T.J., 'The Educational Needs of the People of Equatorial Africa', Address at 29th Annual Session Foreign Mission Conference of North America, 1922 (New York).

Jones, T.J., 'An Educational Policy for African Colonies', in Christian Education in Africa. Conference at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, September 8-13, 1924 (Edinburgh House).

Jones, T.J., Booker T. Washington: Apostle of Self-determination and Cooperation (Founders Day Address, Tuskegee Institute, 8.4.34, copies in the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Edinburgh House).

Kenya Colony and Protectorate: Education Department Annual Reports. 1921-1939.

Phelps-Stokes Fund Special Reports:

Jones T.J., Educational Adaptations. Report of Ten Years' Work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1910-1920 (New York, circa 1920).

Phelps Stokes, Anson, Confidential Memorandum for the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund regarding Dr. Carter G. Woodson's Criticisms of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones (Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York, 1924).

Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1911-1931 (contributions from C.T. Loram, J.H. Oldham, T.J. Jones, M.N. Work and A. Phelps Stokes. New York, 1931).

Phelps Stokes, Anson, Report on Education, Native Welfare, and Race Relations in East and South Africa (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1934).

Education for Life: The Phelps-Stokes Fund and Thomas Jesse Jones. A Twenty-Fifth Anniversary (New York, 1937).

Negro Status and Race Relations in the United States, 1911-1946: The Thirty Five Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund (New York, 1946).

D. PERIODICALS.

The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races (monthly publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York) 1911-1935. See especially:-

- W.E.B. DuBois, 'Negro Education', xv, February, 1918;
W.E.B. DuBois, 'Thomas Jesse Jones', xxii, October 1921;
W.E.B. DuBois, '"Kenya" - A Study of East African conditions as revealed by Norman Leys', xxxi, February, 1926.
W.E.B. DuBois, '"Education in Africa" - a review of the Recommendations of the African Education Committee', xxxii, June 1926.
W.E.B. DuBois, 'Missionaries', xxxvi, May 1929.
Channing Tobias, 'Max Yergan', xl, July 1933.
W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Negro College', xl, August 1933.

International Review of Missions (London):

- A.G. Fraser, 'Impressions of Hampton Institute', i, 1912;
B.T. Washington, 'David Livingstone and the Negro', ii, 1913; H.B. Frissell, 'The Value of Industrial Education', iv, 1915; J.H. Oldham, 'Christian Missions and the Education of the Negro', vii, 1918; J.H. Oldham, 'The Christian Opportunity in Africa: Some Reflections on the Report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission', xiv, 1925;
R.R. Moton, 'The Education of Africans', xii, 1923; xv, July 1926, passim; A Victor Murray, 'Christianity and Rural Civilisation', xix, 1930.

Southern Workman (monthly publication of Hampton Institute).

- T.J. Jones, 'Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum', xxxiv, 1905; Robert E. Park, 'The International Conference on the Negro', xli, 1912; Max Yergan, 'A YMCA Secretary in Africa', xlvii, August 1918;
Kenneth Saunders, 'A Forward Move in Africa' (Max Yergan in B.E.A.) xlix, Feb., 1920; W.E. Owen, 'Unrest in Kenya Colony', liii, June 1924; J.H. Dillard, 'Impressions from East Africa', liii, 1924; J.E.K. Aggrey, 'The Prince of Wales College', lv, January, 1926; H.S. Keigwin, 'The Influence of Armstrong', lv, February 1926;
Fred R. Bunker, 'Hampton in Africa - Shall it Be?', lvi, May 1927; J.W.C. Dougall, 'Training Visiting Teachers for African Village Schools', lvii, October 1928;
T.J. Jones. 'Letters by Thomas Jesse Jones: i) "To an American on a Journey to Africa". ii) "To an Able and Devoted African Whose Studies and Experiences in England and America Filled Him with Perplexity and Disappointment when He Returned Home"', lxiv, September 1935.

Tuskegee Student (the publication of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, from 1924 called Tuskegee Messenger):

R.R. Moton, 'Problems and Development of the Negro Race', xxxii, Nov. 1922; 'African Student Union', xxxiii, March 1923; 'Fifth Annual Conference of the African Student Union', xxxiv, March 1924.

E. Printed Books.

DuBois, W.E. Burghardt, The Souls of Black Folk. Essays and Sketches, (Chicago, 1903).

Jones, Thomas Jesse, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States (Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletins, 1916, Nos. 38, 39, Washington, Government Printing Office 1917).

Jones, Thomas Jesse, Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe (New York, 1922).

Jones, Thomas Jesse, Education in East Africa. A Study of East, Central and South Africa by the second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in cooperation with the International Education Board (New York, 1925).

Smith, Edwin W., Aggrey of Africa. A Study in Black and White (London, 1929).

Smith, Edwin W., The Christian Mission in Africa: A Study based on the Work of the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14th to 21st, 1926 (London, 1926).

Washington, B.T., Up From Slavery, An Autobiography (New York, 1901).

11. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. PAMPHLETS AND REPORTS

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

From Dr. Jones' address to the National Education Association in Salt Lake City, 1913, 'The High School and Democracy'.

On teaching Latin:

'.. If Miss Smith, teacher of Latin, wishes really to help the great wave of democracy, she must follow Mary to her mother's home and see the mother battling to educate her family of five children and feed and clothe the entire family on ten or fifteen dollars a week. She must learn what is Mary's attitude toward her hardworking father and mother. She must ascertain Mary's pleasures and evening companions. She must study the relation of housing and food to the death of Mary's baby brother. She must determine in her own mind and, if possible, help Mary to determine what useful sphere in life Mary is going to fill. These various excursions into Mary's life will probably lead Miss Smith to the study of her community and she will learn why the health officer does or does not know that William had diptheria, why a city of 17,000 has no sewerage system, why their typhoid fever death list is twice what it ought to be, why there are so many beautiful homes, why the schools are so well constructed and many other conditions good and bad of which she had not dreamt. Finally at the end of the school year when her mind is full of this living information, Miss Smith, the Latin teacher, will decide to teach Latin in such a living style that it can no longer be called a dead language, or she will throw Latin overboard and teach another subject which Mary needs more in her daily contact with a mother that slaves all day, with children who need to be fed and clothed and washed, in a city that does not give anything away, in a democracy that only asks a man or woman to produce something useful whether it is of matter, mind or spirit...'

(Copy in Hampton Institute Archive)

See Chapter II, reference 63.

APPENDIX II

An exchange of Correspondence on aid to schools between
Thomas Jesse Jones and Booker T. Washington.

"Dear Dr. Jones:

I am wondering if you can give me any additional information concerning the schools here indicated. I want this information for a gentleman in Boston whom I fear has been imposed upon for a good many years in helping worthless schools. Do not pay attention to the way I have marked these schools if in your judgement, they should be described differently....

(box 506, BTW papers, LC.)

"Dear Mr. Washington,

I have examined the list of schools submitted to you by Mr. Schiff. My suggestion is as follows:

The twenty four schools to which Mr. Schiff contributed last year are worthy of the gifts indicated on the list, with the exception of four on which I desire to make the following comments:-

Selma University, with its high name and great pretensions, is so poorly managed and indifferent to the educational needs of it's (sic) pupils as not to merit aid from any source that may be regarded as an approval of its present condition.

....
North Louisiana Industrial School, according to our agents, Principal Adam of this school has demonstrated quite clearly that he cannot make the school a success. In view of his limited ability, the odds against him are so great as to make further contributions to the institution almost certain waste. The odds to which we refer are the larger and more prosperous school located only a mile away...

Lowry Institute, This is practically a fake institution whose chief object is the collection of money for the personal comfort of the principal and his family.....

(T.J. Jones to B.T. Washington, 9.7.14,
box 506, BTW.LC)

See chapter II, reference 83.

APPENDIX III

An edition of Harry Thuku's broadsheet.

(see chapter III, reference 33 (Rhodes House))

TANGAZO.



Karatasi moja cts. 5 maana zipatikane pesa za kulipa walio chapa.

Majudasi wane wamapatikana. Nao ni Koinange wa Mbiu na Josiah Njonjo na
Phillipo Karanja na Waruhiyu. Wametahayari mbele ya Mkutano
Siku ya February, 13.



Siku ya Ijumetatu nilifanya Mkutano huku Ng'enda kwa Waiganjo wa Ndotono, nami
nilifanya kuitwa ni wa-Kikuyu wa huku. Talikuwanyika watu wengi sana, haswa wa Kimasihia, hatta
wa-Kikuyu wengi sana wakatika ila kunisikizwa na kumiona maana Majudasi hawa wane niliowataja
hapa juu wamekwisha tangaza kwa mara tatu kama nimekwisha kunyongwa ni Sirkali. Ajabu kubwa
hii, mtu kunyongwa kwa sababu ya neno la haki. Lakini natumaini kama hawa wanafiki wane ambao
wanajitita wa Masihia nao si kweli ni wanyang'anyi tu, wao hawawezi kunyonga hatta kuku.

Katika Mkutano huo Koinange na Waruhiyu na Waweru wa Mahui na Muhuhu wa Gatho-
cha na Kibathi wa Gitengu walikuja ili kutia fujo katika Mkutano, lakini Bwana M'ngu aliwalani
maana fujo yao haikufaa kitu maana watu wengi kunita na mimi mwenyewe tuliwatahayarisha sana
toteini niliionana kwanza na kuwaeleza watu maana ya kuwatetea kwa Wazungu, mara moja waka-
piga makofi kwa furaha sana. Halafu ni kawauliza Koinange na Waruhiyu sasa uongo wenu mtan-
tanya je, maana sasa nasimama mbele ya watu ambao mmewadanganya siku nyingi kama nimekw-
isha nyongwa ni Sirkali? Niliposema manono haya mbele za Mkutano Majudasi hawa wawili wakata-
hayari sana kabisa, walla wasipate la kunijibu. Tena maneno aliposema Wamarema na Waweru wa
Mahui ikewashinda sana Koinange na Waruhiyu maana ilikuwa ya kweli. Ndipo Chief Kibathi akawa-
mbia watu wako kama waondoke katika Mkutano huo wetu, nao watu wakamwambia kama hapa
hapana mwanao awiswi twataka kusikia maneno ya Harry Thuku tu maana ndiye msanda wetu.
Mara moja nao akashindwa nguvu akenda zakwe na haya nyingi na kutahayari, watu wakaatwa ndani
ya Mkutano, Mkutano huo ulifana sana, sasa nawasikitikia hawa Majudasi wane watasema wapi
uongo wao sababu Wakikuyu wamekwisha wajulia sasa. Uongo wao umekoma hapa.

Nilifurahi sana katika safari yangu kwenda Mkutano huku Ng'enda maana nilifuatana na
Mwalimu Samuel Okoth, wa Maseno, na Waisilamu wawili moja ni Abdalla Tairara na Ali Kironjo
katika safari yetu tulikwenda kwa furaha sana kama ndugu moja wote sikuona tefauti ya M'kavi-
rondo na Mkikuyu walla ya m-Masihia na Isilamu, basi kwahiyo nikafurahi sana kwa kuwa
tumeuata sharia ya Mwenyiozi M'ngu, kwa kuwa alisema kama "mpenda jirani yako kama
nafusi yako mwenyowe."

Ajabu nyengine nimeona ni hii. Hapa katika C. M. S. Nairobi yuko M'agiriama moja
Mwalimu Simeoni Kalumo jina lakwe. Mwalimu huyu ameanza kujifundisha kuhubiri kwa jina
langu. Maana yakwe siku ya Ijumapili February, 12 nilikwenda katika Church ya asubuhi huku
C. M. S. Nairobi halafu jioni sikwenda. Wakati wa kuhubiri yeye Simeoni akasema kama haifai
kumuombes Harry Thuku maana yeye haji M'sikitini. Wamasihia wote waliposikia wakakosirika
sana maana walijua kama amesema uongo usiona na mato. Sasa namuliza huyu Simeoni inamuhusu
nini mimi kwenda M'sikitini au kutokwenda? Au yeye ndiye ashikao ufunguo wa Mbinguai?
akiwa ndiye ashikao ufunguo huo asinifungulie. Tena nataka yeye Simeoni Kalumo ajue kama mimi
siwezi kuteta nae namteka Bwana wakwemaana akili hizo zakwe ni za kipambavu kabisa. Yeye nini?
Aliomwambia aniombes n'nani? Asiponiombes yeye roho ngapi zitakasoniombes? Yeye hajai kama
amewekwa hapa Nairobi ni pesa za Wakikuyu na Wakavirondo na wata wote wa bara hii? Sasa
ateza na Bwana zakwe. Tena ametokoza nyuki, sasa naakae tayari maana ametanganya maziwa na
dama. Maana neno la M'ngu ni jeupe kama maziwa na kutetea dunia ni wekundu kama dama, sasa
na avue hizo nguo za Utakatifu avae koti na surusuri apote kuteta vizuri, au kama hataki kusikia
nikiombewa ni wa-Masihia wenzangu afathali unde kwao Giriama maana hii ni lazima nitaombewa
tu hatta mbele za Bwana zakwe. Yeye Simeoni alipopewa daraja ya Uvindi alifikiri kama amefany-
wa kuwa M'fumo wa Bara hii? Roho yakwe imedanganya sana hawezi kupata nafasi maana
nafasi iliko niya watu wa Bara tu, na Ujudasi wakwe natafute kwa mwenyewe maana mimi
Harry Thuku ni mato na Wazee wa E. A. Association. hawawezi kumpa nafasi hatta akapanda juu
ya malingoti.

Tena yuko Kasisi moja pande za Fort Hall nae ni wa C. M. S. aliomba ndani ya Church
akasema kama M'ngu azidi kuifunika inti hii ya kiza izidi kuwa kiza, na wenyewe wazidi kuwa waji-
nga zaidi. Hii ni maombi ya Mwenyiozi M'ngu? La. Sio ni maombi ya Sheitani tu. Haya basi
Africa yaweza kuwa kiza sababu ya maombi ya huyu M'zungu? La Itazidi kufunuka zaidi, yule
M'zungu ni mnafiki tu, ili si mtumishi wa Mwenyiozi M'ngu.

Ni mimi moja wenu katika Bwana na katika Umoja

Harry Thuku.

Nairobi, 17-2 1922

Chairman, E. A. Association.

APPENDIX IV

See chapter III, reference 54.
(Tuskegee Institute Archives)

The Second Pan-African Congress

BULLETIN I, MARCH 1921



THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS met February 19, 20, 21, 1919, at the Grand Hotel, Paris, and was attended by 57 delegates representing 16 different countries. This Congress appointed a permanent committee and ordered a Second Pan-African Congress to meet in Paris in 1921.

In accordance with this decision the Second Pan-African Congress will meet during the first week in September, 1921. There will be probably be three successive sessions—one in London, one in Brussels and one in Paris. All the details of time and place have naturally not yet been settled.

Membership in the Second Pan-African Congress will be restricted to regularly chosen delegates. Guests with all privileges, (except that of voting) will be welcome. Any organization of persons of Negro descent or of persons whose chief work is with and for the Negro races, will be entitled to send delegates according to the following tentative plan, which is subject to criticism and change in succeeding bulletins: organizations with a membership under 1000, one delegate; 1000 and under 5000, 2 delegates; 5000 and under 10,000, 3 delegates; 10,000 and under 50,000, 4 delegates; 50,000 and under 100,000, 5 delegates; 100,000 or more, seven or more delegates according to special agreement.

The expenses of each delegate will be borne by the organization which sends him or by the delegate himself. Each organization will be taxed a small sum for each delegate sent. This sum will be used to defray the general expenses of the meeting, and will probably be Ten Dollars per delegate.

The expenses of attendance from New York and return will be between \$300 and \$750 per delegate, depending upon the class of accommodation on the boat and in hotels, the length of stay, etc.

This bulletin is being sent to as many persons of prominence, and organizations as we can reach in the United States, the West Indies, South America, Africa and Europe.

It is requested that persons receiving it or reading it should write us immediately suggesting other persons to whom invitations might be sent and stating the likelihood of they themselves being able to attend and the organization which they would probably represent.

BLAISE DIAGNE, *President,*

W. E. B. DuBOIS, *Secretary,*

70 Fifth Avenue, New York, U. S. A.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

J. R. Archer, England
René Boisneuf, Guadeloupe
Gratien Candace, Guadeloupe
Blaise Diagne, France
W. E. B. DuBois, U. S. A.
John Hope, U. S. A.
Mrs. I. G. Hunt, U. S. A.
Mrs. A. W. Hunton, U. S. A.
G. W. Jackson, France
W. H. Jernigan, U. S. A.
Anne Marie, France
R. C. Simmons, U. S. A.

(To be enlarged)

APPENDIX V.

Letter of Thuku to Tuskegee; see chapter III, reference 62.
(Tuskegee Institute Archives)

The East African Association.

P. O. Box 598.

NAIROBI 8th September, 1921.
(Kenya Colony.)

The Secretary,
Tuskegee Institute,
Alabama,
U. S. A.

Dear Sir,

From the books and newspapers I read dealing with the condition of Negro races in America I find that your Institute from the ~~the~~ time of its establishment has been engaged in up-lifting ~~of~~ the Negro races there and that you are the likely person, being its Secretary, who may be looked to, for advice by those engaged in a similar work. I therefore take the liberty of addressing you the following and any information or advice you may be able to give me will be gratefully appreciated.

I am a native and the Secretary of the East African Association lately established with the object of promoting the welfare of the African natives races in British East Africa now called Kenya Colony. In this capacity I might state that ~~the~~ the number of natives, so ~~far~~ far as this Colony is concerned, is 2,800,000 and almost all of them are practically in the primitive state of civilization although, this country has been under the rule of the British people for the last two decades. Their declared policy of the Administration is to govern for the benefit of the natives and some petty efforts are made by them ostensibly to impart technical and elementary education to the natives but at an expense totally disproportionate.

APPENDIX V (Contd.)

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tionate to the revenue extracted from them. From this and from the nature of legislation as applicable to us and from similar other evidence (details of which are hardly necessary to be enumerated here at this stage) it can be safely concluded that the children of the soil have been ceaselessly exploited under ~~the~~ pretext of civilising them and the country is governed primarily not for the aboriginal races but, to all interests and purposes, for the governing race. The advent of the British people in this country was supposed to be for the ~~the~~ up-lifting of our races but from the experience, such as we have been having during the last twenty years, the fact protudes beyond the possibility of doubt that such is not their intention and the whole is a hollow boast and to this horrid myth, the steady deterioration which has been gradually taking place in every condition of natives' life amply testifies. The process we have been brought under by foreign influences, if allowed to go on unchecked and unrestrained, is bound to annihilate and wipe out our native races from the land of their fore-fathers at no distant date.

Under the circumstances a serious duty devolved^d upon this Association and upon educated natives of whom there are few, to try to avert such a catastrophe and to find out ways and means ~~for~~ for their unification, and preservation. The first essential, of course, is education, but this can not be secured without the aid of able and devoted men ^{is, such men among us are none. We suffer beyond imagination} and what is most deplorable^d from the want of such men and leaders of our own race to guide us in every walk of life and the result is that our progress in the sphere of Trade Industry Agriculture and the last but not the least important politics is seriously hampered. We must frankly confess that we are not without warm friends and sincere sympathisers among European Missionaries and benevolent Indians ~~(and)~~

APPENDIX V (Contd.)

(East Indians) to whom we owe so much of our improved life of few of us. These friends have been helping us as much as they can, and in their own way; but with all this, we are convinced that ~~this~~ is totally inadequate and insufficient to dispel our present illiteracy and ignorance we have steeped in and to safeguard our position as human beings or to avert the impending danger which seems so imminent to our view.

The necessity therefore of having our own man-a skinsman brother, and a leader, who has devoted his life and renounced everything for the elevation and up-lifting of a primitive race like ours, which is even now scarcely free from the shackles of the slavery days will ^{be} too ~~and~~ obvious for further elaboration. It gives me the greatest pleasure to learn that despite the stubborn adverse evil influences the Negro race in America has been successful in producing many large hearted men like Booker T. Washington and establishing Institutes like the Tuskegee. We regard such ~~man~~ as our saviours and the Tuskegee as our asylum where the hunted down-trodden and oppressed Negro may hasten to seek for help or advice in all times of danger. Such being the feeling I am therefore anxious to be informed if a Booker T. Washington or a Du Bois can be spared for founding a "Tuskegee" in the African wilds and for the holy Mission of up-lifting and emancipating the hopeless, hapless, struggling 3,000,000 nude Native souls from deep ignorance, object poverty, and grinding oppression of the white settlers of this Colony of Kenya.

One thing I must make clear before I close this appeal for help and it is that we have no money for any purpose whatever but we have gratitude for our benefactors present or future.

I enclose under separate cover newspaper cuttings and other literature though scanty on our native affairs in this country for you information.

APPENDIX V (Contd.)

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Trusting that this appeal will receive the earnest attention of your Institute and the Negro public of the United States of America and thanking you in anticipation on behalf of the Native races of ~~the~~ this country for the advice and help we may receive at your hands.

I am dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,

Harry Thacker
Hony. Secretary.

APPENDIX VI

JEANES TEACHERS SCHOOL

KABETE, KENYA.

JULY 22nd. 1926.

Letter from Kenya
Jeanes Teachers;
see chapter VI,
reference 61.
(T.G. Benson papers)

TO THE JEANES TEACHERS OF AMERICA,

Our Friends,

We were delighted to be visited by Dr. Aggrey and the other gentlemen who came in 1924 to see the schools of Kenya and how they are carried on. This visit was followed by the scheme of Jeanes Teacher Training.

More than this, we, the Jeanes Teachers of Kenya have been rejoiced greatly by the visit of the lady who knows the meaning of the Jeanes work in America so well.

We are taught in the Jeanes School to know the needs of the people in our country and to find ways by which they can be lifted out of their limitations of ignorance and poverty. So we hope that you also, when this letter reaches you, will be able to think of us in our need and questioning.

These are the things we want to know:-

1. How were you able to find your Jeanes Teachers in America?
2. What kind of work do they do in the small schools?
3. What is the way to make the rural teachers understand?
4. How are the old people convinced of the value of Jeanes ideas so that we are united together in their support?
5. What is the best way to write a Report of Jeanes Work?
6. What are the ways by which we can lift the level of our people in industry, in property and in respect for foreigners and native traditions alike?
7. How are we to carry our women forward by respect for them and by assisting them in the work of home and garden?
8. How are we to persuade our people to agree that the tradition of the past and the songs and folk-stories of the tribe may

APPENDIX VII

Speech Day Programme. See chapter VI, reference 76.

(T.G. Benson papers)

JEANES SCHOOL SPEECH DAY.

Tuesday Aug. 6th 1929. 4.45 p.m. in the School Hall.

1. African Tribal Songs.

(a) Kikuyu Rattle Song.

The song centres round the rattle (Gicandi) and its ornaments. The singers ask riddles in turn. A full explanation would fill a book.

(b) Luo Wedding Song.

The bridegroom's age-equals gather together and sing in praise of him, his work, his skill, his shield etc. The musical instrument of 8 strings (Thom) is of ancient origin. The man mentioned at the end, Gor, was a famous old Chief of South Kavirondo.

(c) Abananda (Bantu Kavirondo)

i. K'arimiwa. According to a tradition of the tribe a weakly hunchback saved people from the cannibals by his cunning. They now sing in praise of him.

ii. Mishere ulule.

The singer recites the names of people and tribes and says what they each do, making puns on their names.

iii. Iubenzu.

The song of the bird and the beautiful maiden. She begs the feathers and is enticed far away from her own home. The bird represents the young man who will one day come and woo her.

iv. The War Horn sounds and all rush to the call.

2. Presentation of Permanent and Provisional Jeanes Certificates by the Hon'ble the Director of Education.

3. Jeanes School Hymns. (Swahili)

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. God our Father. | African Tune. |
| 2. Praise the Lord. | African Tune. |
| 3. Nobody knows the trouble I've seen. | Negro Spiritual. |

Speech :- Chief Koinange.

4. Recreational Games and Drill.

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 5. Show of Handwork. | 1. Men's carpentry. |
| | 2. Women's sewing. |

JEANES TEACHER'S REPORT FORM

(Quarter).....(Term) 1937: Group Taji
Shinanga.....WIFE'S NAME Rubia N. N.
 city.....No. of Schools under supervision.....

WORK IN HOMES AND VILLAGES.

Nimelundisha kwa vitendo mambo haya:-

1. Kwinua upya wa ghala, jusi ya kulinda kisima.
 2. Kisha njia za kulinda maji nyumbani. (Kutunika)
 3. Utungaji wa majiko na vyombo vya kutunika nyumbani.
 4. Njia za kusaidia fina mama kulinda chakula cha watoto.
- Ni mung'isha chama cha Committee 12 yaani Committee wa Kije
 nga Amani. Sasa kazi yao ni kujengisha majengo.
 wameanza kujenga Shuli moja ya mawe pale Mushi na
 B. Tiiki yapata urefu wa fut 60" upana 20" ft.

Na liomba L.N.C msaada kusaidia jivudulu kisima
 hata sasa wamepata. Na lipitoa niwazavyo kusaidia
 Tariki 13th Nov. 1937. Na liwalika Ma Chief
 wa Tiiki wa wili: Chief Paulo Amiani, na Chief Shunioli
 na Presidents Luyali na Lugongo watatu na wazee pia
 walifika kuona shida zote juu ya shuli ile ya mawe
 ambazo majengwa Mushi. Na walikubali kwamba w
 tasaidia halafu wenyewe wali thubutishana kwamba
 watahirikiiana kusaidia wazazavyo.

Tariki 20th Dec 1937. Na liwakutanisha wazee
 wa Kanisa na Committee wa Shuli, wote 24 walifika.
 Na liwaeleza haja za Union Shuli 12 Zi nahitaji nini:-
 Maana si mekusanywa Shuli tatu ama nne kwa moja.
 4. Usafi wa Shuli: 5. Fees ya wanafunzi, 6. Majengo -
 bora ya majikoni Msaada wa Chama cha Afya.
 Health Worker R. Sh. N. Lauton Walitua majengo mbele yao

APPENDIX VIII (b)

Translation of Report.

Work in Homes and Villages.

(Translated by Opudia Kadima.)

I have taught and given demonstrations on the following:-

- (1) How to improve the cleanliness of a granary; and the maintainance of a well, and the best way to prevent flooding of homes.
- (2) Maintainance of charcoal stoves as well as other household equipment.
3. Useful methods of preserving children's food (housewives were taught this)

I have formed a progress committee. It consists of twelve members and its function is to promote amicable relation among the members of the village. Their present task is to put up buildings. And they have already embarked on constructing a school block in E. Tinku. The building itself is large, being 60' by 20' and will have a stone wall.

I appealed to the Local Native Council for assistance in the re-construction of Terudula well and I am pleased to say that the help has been given. I did my best in assisting on the job of construction.

On 13th. Nov. 1937 I invited two Tinku chiefs to the school. They were: Paul Amiani and Shimoli. President Luyali, three sub-chiefs were among those present. They appreciated the immensity of the task of building the stone-walled block at Mukudu (in east Tinku). They agreed to co-operate with us and gave assurance that they will themselves play an active part in the actual construction.

On 20th. Dec. 1937 a meeting took place between members of the church committee and school committee as I had arranged. All the 24 members were present.

(Missianary Research Library, New York)

APPENDIX II

**REPORT BY MR. AND MRS. G. B. JOHNSON ON A VISIT TO THE
U.S.A. TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION, AIMS AND METHODS
OF RURAL SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES.**

(February - April, 1934).

SECTION 1.—ITINERARY.

1. SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25TH: Left Southampton at 6 p.m. by "Ascania".
2. THURSDAY, MARCH 8TH:
 - (a) Arrived New York at 2 p.m.
 - (b) Afternoon with Dr. Jesse Jones at the Phelps-Stokes Office arranging details of itinerary.
 - (c) Dined with Mr. Jackson Davis, Assistant Director of the Education Division of the General Education Board, and Mr. L. M. Favrot, General Field Agent of the G.E.B. Discussed American educational organization.
3. FRIDAY, MARCH 9TH: Completed arrangements with Dr. Jesse Jones, and visited Cunard Offices to arrange return voyage to England.
4. SATURDAY, MARCH 10TH:
 - (a) Morning at Columbia University in discussion with Miss Mabel Carney, Professor of Rural Education, who made helpful suggestions for the enrichment of our itinerary.
 - (b) Left for Washington at 4-30 p.m. arriving at 8-45 p.m.
5. SUNDAY, MARCH 11TH:
 - (a) Morning service in the Cathedral with sermon by Dr. Phelps-Stokes.
 - (b) Visit to General Lee's home at Arlington, and to the War Museum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.
 - (c) Dined at the Sulgrave Club as guests of Miss Breckenridge.
6. MONDAY, MARCH 12TH:
 - (a) Spent morning at the Offices of the Federal Department of Agriculture with Mr. C. I. Chambers of the Rural Extension Service which organizes and directs the agricultural and home development activities of rural schools.
 - (b) In the afternoon we visited the Armstrong High School and also called on Mrs. Catherine M. Cook, who is in charge of the Special Problems Divisions in the Office of Education (Department of the Interior). Mrs. Cook made a recent survey of a Mexican Educational Experiment in practical "schools of action" for the rural population (see the "House of the People" by Mrs. K. M. Cook).
 - (c) Dined with Dr. and Mrs. Phelps-Stokes.
7. TUESDAY, MARCH 13TH:
 - (a) Visited George Washington's home (Mt. Vernon) and the Capitol (Senate House of Representatives, and Supreme Court).
 - (b) Afternoon spent with Dean Holmes of the School of Education at Howard University (Negro).
 - (c) Tea at the English Speaking Union and address on world economic problems by Sir George Paish.
 - (d) Embarked at 6-30 p.m. for Hampton (Virginia) arriving at Old Point Comfort (Chesapeake Bay) at 6 a.m. on the 14th.
8. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14TH—MONDAY, MARCH 19TH: At Hampton Institute studying organization and methods of community work among children and adults.

By the courtesy of a member of the staff we were taken on Sunday, the 18th, to visit (a) York town where Cornwallis surrendered in 1781, (b) Williamsburg where the William and Mary College, founded by King William III and designed by Sir C. Wren, claims to be the oldest University in the States having received its charter before Harvard, (c) Jamestown, the site of the first English settlement, and the scene of the Powhatan—Pocahontas—Smith drama.

We left Hampton at 7-27 on the evening of the 19th for Richmond, Virginia, arriving at 9-30 p.m.

9. TUESDAY, MARCH 20TH:

(a) Spent day with Miss Virginia Randolph, the first Jeanes Teacher ever appointed, and still an active worker and a remarkable personality.

We visited the "Virginia Randolph" High School and also a one-teacher rural school.

(b) Left Richmond at 11-10 p.m. for Beaufort, S. Carolina, en route for the Penn School on St. Helena Island.

10. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21ST: Arrived at Beaufort at mid-day and visited Miss Cooley and Miss House at the Penn School.

11. THURSDAY, MARCH 22ND:

(a) Spent day at Penn.

(b) Left Beaufort by road at 5-30 arriving at Charleston, S. Carolina, at 10 p.m.

12. FRIDAY, MARCH 23RD: Morning and afternoon in Charleston leaving at 5-20 p.m. for Calhoun, Alabama.

13. SATURDAY, MARCH 24TH—THURSDAY, MARCH 29TH:

(a) Arrived Calhoun at 11-45 a.m. on 24th.

(b) At Calhoun School studying community work.

(c) Left for Tuskegee at 3-30 p.m. on the 29th, arriving 7-40 p.m.

14. FRIDAY, MARCH 30TH—SATURDAY, MARCH 31ST:

(a) At Tuskegee studying community work.

(b) Left for Niagara at 4 p.m. on the 31st.

15. SUNDAY, APRIL 1ST: Arrived Buffalo at 10 p.m.

16. MONDAY, APRIL 2ND:

(a) Visited an Indian School in an Iroquois reservation but, unfortunately, the school was closed for the day.

(b) Visited a one-teacher rural school for white children.

(c) An afternoon visit to Niagara Falls and Old Fort Niagara.

17. TUESDAY, APRIL 3RD: Left Buffalo at 1 p.m. arriving New York at 9-30 p.m.

18. WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4TH—SATURDAY, APRIL 7TH: In New York.

(a) Wednesday was spent at Columbia University discussing the organization of rural schools with Professor Carney.

(b) Thursday was divided between Columbia University and the Lincoln Experimental School for white children. This school is conducted on modern lines similar to those advocated by the New Education Fellowship.

(c) Friday was devoted entirely to visits of interest in New York.

19. SATURDAY, APRIL 7TH: Left New York by "Cameronia".

20. MONDAY, APRIL 16TH: Arrived Glasgow at 3 p.m.

SECTION 2.—THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE.

1. The outstandingly interesting feature of educational work among the negroes of the Southern States is the carefully organized community and rural extension work the value of which can hardly be called in question by an unprejudiced mind. Mrs. Johnson and I feel that there would be greater enthusiasm for work on similar lines in Africa if more agricultural and education officers, and other workers, could see what is being attempted and accomplished in America. Jeanes school activities would be more widely developed. Systematic co-operation between medical, agricultural and education departments would result in the development of an educational programme related to the most urgent needs of the people and likely to promote their material, as well as their moral and intellectual, welfare.

2. Before referring specifically to those activities which are of direct interest to Africa it may not be inappropriate to explain briefly the general educational organization of the U.S.A. A decree enforcing attendance is on the statute books but is not always operated,

APPENDIX X

Agricultural Missions Foundation - Schedule of Southern Tour.
January 20 - February 14th 1936.

4 H Club Work - Negro Extension Work - Conference arranged
by Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes. - U.S. Department of Interior
Education Office - Office of Indian Affairs - Anna T. Jeanes
Fund with Dr. Arthur Wright. - Tea at Home of Canon and
Mrs. Anson Phelps Stokes - To Richmond with General
Education Board - Virginia State College of Agriculture and
Home Economics (for Negroes), for Home Demonstration Work -
Visit Jeanes Teacher Work - Hampton Institute (4 days) -
Raleigh, with state director of Negro Education, - Penn
School (3 days) - Columbus (Spenser High School for Negroes) -
Tuskegee and Calhoun (combined 6 days) Atlanta University
(half a day, John Hope and Interracial Commission).

(Itinerary of R. MacPherson and W.H. Turnbull, see
chapter VII, reference 130). (Edinburgh House).

APPENDIX XI

Letter of T.J. Jones, 'To an Able and Devoted African whose Studies Filled him with Perplexity and Disappointment when he Returned Home', Southern Workman, lxiv, No.9, September 1935, pp. 279-282:-

Dear Friend,

A very happy New Year to you. I have thought of you often since you returned to your Native Nigeria, and your letters have given me some idea of your thoughts and emotions as you have again entered the currents of life among those you have known from childhood. I am not at all surprised that you are subjected to the variety of feelings mentioned in your letters. As I watched your development at Columbia University, I had increasing fears that your continued study of abstract interpretations of human affairs would add to your perplexity when you were again compelled to deal with simple realities among your home people. Do you remember Christ's prayer: 'I thank Thee, Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes'? When you left Calabar and your Native Nigeria and arrived in America, you gave every evidence that you had an accurate knowledge of the every day life of the simple people in West Africa. You came sincerely seeking to learn the next steps necessary to their development. You listened eagerly to those who were regarded as 'wise and prudent'. You were remarkably successful in passing all University examinations with honor. I am proud of your scholarly attainments both at Columbia University and at the London School of Economics. Undoubtedly you acquired much useful knowledge, but the disappointments and discouragements expressed in your letter confirm my fears that some of your present interpretations are out of focus. You are probably depending too exclusively on those whom Christ called the 'wise and prudent' and you are possibly neglecting the simple realities known only to those whom Christ called 'Babes'.

Your excellent letter clearly reveals the conflict between your commonsense understanding of the actualities of life, on the one hand, and your acquired belief in certain abstract conceptions of economic and social theories on the other hand. Your commonsense impels you to recognise the importance of health and sanitation, of the soil and agriculture, of sound family life, and of mental and spiritual development for all the people. Your acquired beliefs in social and economic abstractions impel you to seek solutions for problems that are vaguely understood by you. Two such problems to which you refer are the marketing of products and your relationships to educational organisations in Nigeria. In both instances you seem to disregard numerous and vital factors involved in the problem. Marketing, in the sense implied by you, involves intricate conditions and forces far

beyond, not only your experience and studies but also the experiences and understanding of the American and English lecturers whom you heard. Similarly your relationships to existing educational policies and organisations in Nigeria can be successfully developed only on the basis of long and intimate experience and through understanding. My urgent advice to you is that you remember Christ's prayer of thanksgiving and follow the impulses of your own commonsense rather than the vague implications of the so-called 'wise and prudent' whom you heard in London and New York.

Turning now to what I believe is your conviction, namely what you call the 'gospel of health and industry and agriculture and modern equipment of machinery and culture for living' I submit the following suggestions:

1. That you make every effort to understand those large and vital fields and service; I regret exceedingly that you did not have time to learn more about them when you were in England and America.

2. Among the sources of information which I hope are available, are the following:

- a) Mr. Helser's mission school at Garkida in Northern Niveria and also his books. If possible you should visit that station.
- b) Careful reading and study of 'Overseas Education' published by the British Advisory Committee for Education in the Colonies. If possible you should study all the issues of this remarkable magazine.
- c) Of course you should become acquainted with everything published by the Nigeria Dept. of Education; Mr. Hussey, the Director of Education, is a remarkable man.
- d) There are several excellent schools in Nigeria whose work you should carefully study. You can learn their names through Mr. Hussey.
- e) You should learn as much as possible about the Nigeria Departments of Agriculture and Health and Public Works.

3. My study of schools in Africa and other parts of the world is that independent schools begun by individuals are not successful. There are in America a very few exceptions, notably Tuskegee. In Africa, the successful exceptions are practically negligible. By all means, attach yourself to the Government school system or to one of the well-organised missions.

4. Your desire to organise industries in glass and paper is in the wrong direction because they cannot be introduced into Africa for a long time to come. Nor are they relatively important to Africa at present.

5. The acute need at present not only in Africa but also in America, Europe and Asia is an intelligent consciousness of Mother Earth. Certainly Africa is overwhelmingly rural.

God's gift of the soil is only beginning to be adequately recognised by Humanity.

6. You should know about the Jeanes visiting teachers and Jeanes Schools in East Africa. They are especially designed for villages and the open country in every part of the world.

Time does not permit me to write more at the present time. I am enclosing copies of my address, 'What is Education' and my Tuskegee Founder's Day Address-'Booker Washington, Apostle of Self-Determination and Cooperation.' What I have written briefly in this letter, you will find more fully developed in the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission Reports and especially in the earlier chapters of "Education in East Africa". I urge you by all means to read the first four chapters of that volume.

I have every confidence in your ability and character and devotion. I am most eager that you shall succeed in your efforts to serve the fine people of your Native Nigeria. Remember that remarkable Beatitude:

"Blessed are the gentle, for they shall inherit the gratitude of Humanity."